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# THE *INDIAN ANTIQUARY*

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IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES,  
LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.

*Edited by*

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### SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages),— except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this:—

| Sanskrit.                       | Kanarese. | Transliteration. | Sanskrit. | Kanarese. | Transliteration. |
|---------------------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| अ                               | ಅ         | a                | ज         | ಜ         | ja               |
| आ                               | ಆ         | â                | ಜ್        | ಜ್        | jha              |
| इ                               | ಇ         | i                | ಜಿ        | ಜಿ        | ii               |
| ई                               | ಈ         | î                | ಜಿ        | ಜಿ        | îa               |
| उ                               | ಉ         | u                | ಜು        | ಜು        | tha              |
| ऊ                               | ಊ         | û                | ಜು        | ಜು        | da               |
| ऋ                               | ಋ         | ri               | ಜಂ        | ಜಂ        | dha              |
| ऋ                               | ಋ         | rî               | ಜಂ        | ಜಂ        | na               |
| ಠ                               | —         | l̄ti             | ತ         | ತ         | ta               |
| —                               | ರ         | e                | ಥ         | ಥ         | tha              |
| ಎ                               | ರಿ        | ê                | ಡ         | ಡ         | da               |
| ಎ                               | ರಿ        | ai               | ಡ         | ಡ         | dha              |
| —                               | ಒ         | o                | ಧ         | ಧ         | na               |
| ಬೋ                              | ಬಿ        | ô                | ನ         | ನ         | pa               |
| ಬೋ                              | ಬಿ        | au               | ಪ         | ಪ         | pha              |
| Visarga                         | Visarga   | h                | ಖ         | ಖ         | ba               |
| Jihvāmūlīya, or old             |           | —                | ಭ         | ಭ         | bha              |
| Visarga before ಖ                |           | li               | ಮ         | ಮ         | ma               |
| and ಖ                           |           | —                | ಯ         | ಯ         | ya               |
| Upadhmaṇīya, or                 |           | —                | ರ         | ರ         | ra               |
| old Visarga be-<br>fore ಪ and ಫ |           | h                | —         | —         | —                |
| Anusvāra                        | Anusvdra  | m                | —         | —         | —                |
| Anunāsikā                       | —         | m̄               | ಲ         | ಲ         | la               |
| ಕ                               | ಕ         | ka               | ಳ         | ಳ         | ja               |
| ಖ                               | ಖ         | kha              | —         | —         | va               |
| ಗ                               | ಗ         | ga               | ವ         | ವ         | sa               |
| ಘ                               | ಘ         | gha              | ಷ         | ಷ         | sha              |
| ಙ                               | ಙ         | na               | ಷ         | ಷ         | sa               |
| ಚ                               | ಚ         | cha              | ಸ         | ಸ         | ha               |
| ಭ                               | ಭ         | chha             | ಹ         | ಹ         | —                |

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line: intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *samdhī*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virāma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *samdhī* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palaeographical standard of the original texts.

The *avagraha*, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own *Dēvanāgarī* sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary *Dēvanāgarī* marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are much damaged and nearly illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akṣhara* or syllable.



## SOUTH-INDIAN COPPER COINS.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

**A**S far as I can ascertain, the majority of the coins which form the subject of this paper, are now published for the first time. Others (Nos. 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 24, 27, 30) were included, because the previously published readings of their legends were more or less capable of improvement. Most of the coins form part of those which were selected from the collection of the late Mr. T. M. Scott, of Madura, for the Government Central Museum, Madras, by me and Mr. C. Rajagopala Chari. The abbreviations are the same as *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 301, with the following additions:—

**Atkins** = *The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*, by James Atkins; London, 1889.

**Thurston** = *History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company in the Indian Peninsula, and Catalogue of the Coins in the Madras Museum*, by Edgar Thurston; Madras, 1890.

**Tracy** = *Pandyan Coins*, by the Rev. James E. Tracy, M. A.; *Madras Journal of Literature and Science for the Session 1887-88*.

**Tufnell** = *Hints to Coin-Collectors in Southern India*, by Captain R. H. C. Tufnell, M. S. C.; Madras, 1889.

Mr. B. Santappah, Curator of the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore, has again obliged me by preparing the plaster casts, from which the accompanying Plates were copied.

## I. VIJAYANAGARA COINS.

## No. 1. Harihara. M.

Obv. A bull, facing the right; in front of it, a sword. On a specimen belonging to Mr. Tracy, a four-pointed star is visible over the back of the bull.

Rev. { प्रतापह  
राहर

Pratāpa-Ha-  
rāhara.<sup>1</sup>

The legend is surmounted by symbols of the moon and the sun. This coin is a variety of the coin No. 3, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 302.

## No. 2. Mallikārjunarāya. MH.

Obv. An elephant, facing the left; above it, the Kanaresy syllable *Ni*.

Rev. { मलि  
कार्जुनरा  
युरु

Mali-  
kājunarā-  
yaru.<sup>2</sup>

## No. 3. Ditto. M.

Same type as No. 2, but the elephant on the obverse faces the right.

This and the preceding coin closely resemble Sir W. Elliot's No. 92, on which see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 304. Mallikārjuna was a son and successor of Dēvarāya II., whose latest date is Śaka-Saīvat 1371 expired, the cyclic year *Sukla*.<sup>3</sup> An inscription of Mallikārjunadēva, the son of Dēvarāya, on the left of the entrance into the first *prākāra* of the *Aruḍala-Perumal* temple at Little Kāñchī is dated in Śaka-Saīvat 1387 expired, the cyclic year *Pārthiva*. He appears to have been succeeded by his brother Virūpākshadēva, whose inscription on the South

<sup>1</sup> Read Harihara.

<sup>2</sup> Read Mallikārjunarāyaru.

<sup>3</sup> *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. No. 81.

wall of the *Abhishéka-maṇḍapa* in the same temple is dated in 'Saka-Saṁvat 1392' expired, the cyclic year *Vikrīti*.<sup>4</sup> The two Tamil dates are as follows:—

*A. Inscription of Mallikārjuna.*

Śrī-Virapratāpa-Dēvarāya-mahārāyar kumārar Mallikā[r]jjunadēva-mahā[rā]yar pṛidivī-rājya[m]=ppaṇṇi arulāniṇra Śakābdam 1387ṇ mēl śellāniṇra P[ārd]dhiva-saīvatsarattu Vṛīschika-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu pūrṇaiyum [N]āyarru-kkilamaiyum perra Kāttigai, n[ā]l.

"While **Mallikārjunadēva-mahārāya**, the son of the glorious **Virapratāpa-Dēvarāya-mahārāya**, was pleased to rule the earth,—on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Kṛittikā, which corresponded to Sunday, the full-moon *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛīschika in the *Pārthiva* year, which was current after the 'Saka year 1387.'"

*B. Inscription of Virūpāksha.*

Śrī-Dēvarāya-mahārāyar ku[mā]rar śrī-Virupākshadēva-mahārāyar<sup>5</sup> p[ri]divi-rājyam paṇṇi arulāniṇra Śakābdam 1392ṇ mēl śellāniṇra Vikrīti-saīvarsarattu Magara-nāyarru a[pa]ra-pakshattu amāvāsyai[yum] Aditya-vāramum perra Tiruv[ōnat]tu nāl A[r]tta-udaiyapunya-kālattilē.

"While the glorious **Virūpākshadēva-mahārāya**, the son of the glorious **Dēvarāya-mahārāya**, was pleased to rule the earth,—at the auspicious time of *Ardhōdaya* on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Sravaṇa, which corresponded to Sunday, the new-moon *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara in the *Vikrīti* year, which was current after the 'Saka year 1392.'"

No. 4. **Sadasivarāya.** MH.

Obv. God and goddess, seated,

|      |         |             |
|------|---------|-------------|
| Rev. | श्रीसदा | [Śrī-Sadā]- |
|      | शिवरा   | śivarā-     |
|      | यरु     | yaru.       |

This copper coin corresponds to the pagoda figured by Sir W. Elliot, No. 100; see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 306, No. 32.

No. 5. *Ditto.* M.

Obv. A kneeling figure of Garuḍa, which faces the left.

Rev. Same as No. 4.

The obverse of this coin is an imitation of the copper issues of Kṛishṇarāya, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 306, No. 28.

No. 6. **Tirumalarāya.** H.

Obv. A boar, facing the right; above it, a sword and the sun.

|      |        |           |
|------|--------|-----------|
| Rev. | श्रीति | [Śrī-Ti]- |
|      | रुमाल  | rumala-   |
|      | राया   | rāya.     |

This coin is figured by Sir W. Elliot in the *Madras Journal*, New Series, Vol. IV. Plate i. No. 11. The execution of the Kanarese legend is so barbarous, that the reading would remain doubtful, unless a similar Nāgarī legend did occur on the coins figured *ibid.* Nos. 12 to 17, which have nearly the same obverse as the coin under notice. A correct transcript of the legend on the reverse of these coins was given *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> See also Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 245.

<sup>5</sup> Read *Virūpāksha*.

## II. CHOLA COIN.

No. 7. M.

(Elliot, No. 152).

The obverse and reverse are identical. In the centre is a seated tiger,—the emblem of the Chôla king,—facing the right, with two fishes,—symbols of the Pândya king,—in front, and a bow,—the emblem of the Chéra king,—behind. The whole group is flanked by two lamps and surmounted by a parasol and two *chaurîs*. Underneath is the legend:—

|               |                     |                           |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| Obv. and Rev. | { गंगैकौण्ड<br>चौलः | Ganggaikonda<br>Chola[h]. |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------------------|

This coin is republished, because Mr. Thomas has misread it (Elliot, p. 132, note 1). The name or surname Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla, "the Chōla (king) who conquered the Gaṅgā," survives to the present day in **Gaṅgaikonda-Sōlapuram**, the name of a ruined city in the Udaiyārpālaiyam talukā of the Trichinopoly district. The earliest reference to this city is in a Tañjāvūr inscription of the 19th year of the reign of Parakēsarivarman, *alias* **Rājēndra-Chōladēva**.<sup>6</sup> As this king claims to have conquered the Gaṅgā,<sup>7</sup> it is not unreasonable to suppose that he bore the surname **Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla (I.)**, and that both the foundation of the city and the issue of the coin are due to him. A proof for the correctness of this supposition may perhaps be derived from the unpublished inscriptions on the walls of the ruined Brīhadīśvara temple at Gaṅgaikonda-Sōlapuram. This temple is called **Gaṅgaikonda-Chōlēśvara** in four Pāṇḍya inscriptions, while a mutilated inscription of Kulōttunga-Chōladēva I. refers to a temple named **Rājēndra-Sōla-Īśvara**. If, — what is very probable, — this temple has to be taken as identical with the first, it would follow that the founder of the īśvara (Siva) temple at Gaṅgaikonda-Sōlapuram bore the two names Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla and Rājēndra-Chōla. Further, the surname Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla is applied to the maternal grandfather of Kulōttunga I. in the *Kalingattu-Parani* (x. 5). Though the same poem (x. 3) gives the real name of Kulōttunga's grandfather as Rājarāja, there is no doubt that, as Dr. Fleet (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 279 f.) points out, this is a mistake or an inaccurate expression for Rājēndra-Chōla, who, as we know from the Chellūr grant, was the father of Ammaṅgadēvi, the mother of Kulōttunga I. A coin which resembles the one under notice, but bears the Nāgarī legend **Srī-Rājēndraḥ** (Elliot, No. 153),<sup>8</sup> may be attributed to Parakēsarivarman, *alias* **Rājēndradēva**. An unpublished inscription of this king at Mayimaṅgalam in the Chingleput district mentions a **Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla (II.)** who was the uncle of, and received the title Irumadi-Chōla from, the reigning king. Subsequent to the time of Rājēndra-Chōla, the next mention of Gaṅgaikonda-Sōlapuram is in an unpublished inscription of Rājakēsarivarman, *alias* **Vīra-Rājēndradēva**, at Karuvūr in the Coimbatore district. This inscription also refers to a son of the king, whose name was **Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla (III.)**, and on whom the title Chōla-Pāṇḍya<sup>9</sup> and the sovereignty over the Pāṇḍya country were conferred by his father. According to the *Kalingattu-Parani*,<sup>10</sup> **Gaṅgapuri**, i.e. Gaṅgaikonda-Sōlapuram, continued to be the royal residence in the time of **Kulōttunga-Chōladēva I.** (A.D. 1063 to 1112). In Bilhana's *Vikramāṇikadēvacharita* (iv. 21, and vi. 21) the city is mentioned, under the name **Gāṅgākundapura**, which the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. is said to have taken twice.

### III. MADURA COINS

No. 8. MH.

Obv. Two fishes.

Rev.  
(Tamil.) { Śrī-Avani-  
paśegarain=  
gôlaga.

<sup>6</sup> *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 105.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.* p. 109, and Vol. I. p. 99.

<sup>8</sup> A third coin of similar type (No. 154) has *Uttama-Chēlāh* in Nāgarī, and a fourth (No. 151) *Uttama-Chōlān* in Grantha characters.

\* Not Sundara-Pāndya-Chōla, as stated in Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palaeography*, 2nd edition, p. 45, note 1.

<sup>10</sup> ante, Vol. XIX, p. 339.

"The round coin (?) of the glorious **Avanipasēkhara** (*i. e.* the ornament of princes)."

No. 9. MH.

(Elliot, No. 139).

Obv. A standing figure, facing the right.

Rev. Sōnā-  
(Tamil.) du ko-  
ñdāñ.

"He who conquered the **Chōla** country."<sup>11</sup> The correct reading and explanation of this legend is due to my First Assistant, Mr. Venkayya.

No. 10. MH.

Obv. Same as No. 9.

Rev. Two fishes; between them, the Tamil legend :—

El-  
lā-  
nta-  
laiy-  
ññāñ.

No. 11. MH.

(Elliot, Nos. 137 and 160).

Obv. Same as Nos. 9 and 10.

Rev. Two fishes, surrounded by the Tamil legend *Ellāntalaiyā*.

No. 12. MH.

(Elliot, No. 136).

Obv. Same as Nos. 9 to 11, with the addition of the Tamil syllable *Su* on the right side.

Rev. A fish between two lamps, surrounded by the same legend as on No. 11.

No. 13. MH.

Obv. Same as Nos. 9 to 11.

Rev. El-  
(Tamil.) lāñ-  
talai-  
yā.

The legends of Nos. 11 to 13 appear to be abbreviations of the longer legend of No. 10, which on some specimens is further shortened into *Ellāntalai*. Mr. Tracy, p. 2 f. pointed out that Sir W. Elliot's reading *Samarakōlāhala* is impossible, and suggested *Ellānagaraiyālāñ* instead. But the syllable which he reads *rui*, is clearly *lai* on all the coins. The preceding syllable might be *ka*, *ga* or *ta*, *da*; the sense requires the second alternative. The last syllable is distinctly *ññāñ* on No. 10. *Ellān-talaiy-ññāñ* means "he who is the chief of the world" and appears to be the Tamil original of the Sanskrit epithets *viśvōttarakshmābhṛit*, *sarvōttarakshmābhṛit*, and *sarvōttāñamahibhṛit*, "the king who is the chief of the world," which occur in verses 7, 8 and 15 of an unpublished inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya on the East wall of the second *prākāra* of the Rāṅganātha temple at Srīraṅgam. I would accordingly attribute the issue of the coins Nos. 10 to 13 to Sundara-Pāṇḍya, who ascended the throne in Saka-Saṁvat

<sup>11</sup> Sōnāñdu is a contraction of Sōlanāñdu, as Malāñdu of Malaināñdu; see below, p. 344, and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 167, note 5, and p. 229, note 2.

# SOUTH-INDIAN COPPER COINS.

Plate i.



3



6



9



12



15

FULL-SIZE.



1173 (*ante*, p. 122). This supposition is further strengthened by the fact that, on the obverse of some copies of the coins Nos. 10 to 13 (e. g. on No. 12 of Plate i), we find the Tamil syllable *Su*, which appears to be an abbreviation of *Sundara-Pândyan*. Compare *Dê* for *Dêvarâya*; *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 303, No. 12.

No. 14. *Viśvanâtha.* M.

(Tracy, No. 9).

Obv. Same as No. 13.

Rev. A sceptre between two fishes, surmounted by a crescent and surrounded by the Tamil-Grantha legend :—

[1.] Vi- [5.] *ṇ*.  
 [2.] *śva-* [4.] *da-*  
 [3.] *nâ-*

Mr. Tracy, p. 6, took the final Tamil *ṇ* for a Grantha *s*, and the Grantha group *śva* for a Tamil *va*.

No. 15. *Ditto.* M.

Obv. A sceptre between two fishes.

Rev. A crescent; below it, the Tamil-Grantha legend :—

Viśva-  
 nâda-  
*ṇ*.

No. 16. *Ditto.* M.

Obv. A sceptre between two fishes; above them, the Tamil legend :—

Pâṇ-  
 diyan.

Rev. The same legend as on No. 15.

Nos. 14 to 16 belong to Viśvanâtha, the first Nâyaka of Madura (A. D. 1559 to 1563). No. 16 shows that he wanted to be considered as the rightful successor of the Pândya dynasty.

No. 17. MH.

Obv. A standing figure.

Rev.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{வீங்க} & \text{Veṅka-} \\ \text{ஏங்க} & \text{ṭapa.} \end{array} \right.$

This is a variety of No. 37, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 308.

No. 18. H.

Obv. Three standing figures.

Rev.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{வீங்க} & \text{Veṅka-} \\ \text{ஏங்கா} & \text{[ta]panâ-} \\ \text{யங்க} & \text{[yaka].} \end{array} \right.$

No. 19. MH.

Obv. A kneeling figure, which faces the right.

Rev. (Grantha.)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{வி-} \\ \text{rabha-} \\ \text{dra.} \end{array} \right.$

## No. 20. MH.

Obv. A kneeling figure of Garuḍa, which faces the right.

Rev. { శ్రీ  
      { సాంత

'Sri-A-  
                 namta.

It is not known to which of the rulers of Madura the names **Virabhadra** and **Ananta** on the reverse of Nos. 19 and 20 refer. But the style of the kneeling figure on the obverse connects the Grantha coin No. 19 with the Tamil coins of Bhuvanaikavīra (Elliot's No. 138) and Samarakōlāhala, and the Kanarese coin No. 20 with the Nāgarī coins of Krishnarāya and Sadāśivarāya (No. 5, above).

## No. 21. H.

Obv. A lion, facing the right.

Rev. { Minâ-  
(Tamil.) { tchi.

**Minâkshī** is the name of the goddess of Madura. According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 203, queen Minâkshī of the Nâyaka dynasty ruled from A. D. 1731 to 1736. The reverse of the coin may refer to the goddess, or to the queen, or to both at the same time.

## No. 22. MH.

Obv. Same as No. 21.

Rev. { Madu-  
(Tamil.) { rai.

## No. 23. MH.

Obv. మాధురా Madhurâ.

Rev. Same as No. 22.

The obverse of No. 22 connects this coin with No. 21. The bilingual coin No. 23 agrees with No. 22 in the reverse, which bears the Tamil name of the city of Madura, while its Telugu equivalent occupies the obverse.

## IV. BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY COINS.

## No. 24. MH.

(Tufnell, No. 49; Thurston, Plate xii. No. 1).

Obv. శ్రీ 'Sri.

Rev. { Kum-  
(Tamil.) { pinî.

## No. 25. MH.

Obv. An eight-pointed star.

Rev. Same as No. 24.

The reverse of Nos. 24 and 25 is an early attempt to transliterate the word "Company" in the vernacular character. The auspicious monosyllable *Śrī* (Fortune) appears to be inserted on the obverse of No. 24 from similar motives as the word *Sriranga* on Nos. 26 to 29.

## No. 26. H.

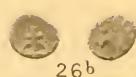
Obv. An orb, surmounted by a cross.

Rev. { శ్రీ  
      { రాంగా  
                 'Sri-  
                 rainga.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> On some specimens of this and the next coins, the second line of the legend reads రాంగా instead of రాంగా through a mistake of the engraver of the die. See Nos. 26 b and 28 of Plate ii.

SOUTH-INDIAN COPPER COINS.

Plate ii





No. 27. H.—A.D. 1678 (?).

(Atkins, p. 140, No. 34).

Obv. Same as No. 26, but the figure 78 inscribed in the lower portion of the orb.

Rev. Same as No. 26, with the addition of a double line between the two lines of the legend.

Mr. Atkins attributes this coin to the Bombay Presidency; but the Southern characters on the reverse prove it to be a Madras issue.

No. 28. H.—A.D. 1698.

Obv. { 16 } in a circle.  
98

Rev. Same as No. 27.

No. 29. H.—A.D. 1705.

(Thurston, Plate xii. No. 3 ?).

Obv. Same as No. 26, but the figures 17 and 05 inscribed in the upper and lower half of the orb.

Rev. Same as Nos. 27 and 28.

The word *Srīraṅga*, which appears on the reverse of Nos. 26 to 29, is, as a neuter, the name of a celebrated shrine of Vishṇu near Trichinopoly, but is also used in the masculine gender as an epithet of the god Vishṇu himself. This reverse was probably selected by the Company with the view of making their coin popular with the native public, and of matching the image of Vishṇu, which was engraved on all the Madras pagodas.

#### V.—FRENCH COIN OF KARIKAL.

No. 30. H.

(Tufnell, No. 48).

Obv. { Pudu-  
(Tamil.) chehē-  
ri.

Rev. { Kā-  
(Tamil.) raik-  
kāl.<sup>13</sup>

*Puduchchēri* and *Kāraikkāl* are the original Tamil forms of the names of the French settlements Pondicherry and Karikal.

#### WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Continued from page 311.)

20. mahāniyamthijjam (cf. chap. 6), mahānirgrāmthiyām; anāhapavvayyā S; 60 vv. Of the anāthavām; Sēṇiō Magahāhivō v. 2. The title found in S agrees with the contents (as was the case with 6 and 7).

21. samuddapālijjam (olejjam V), samudrapālīyam, 24 vv. Of the viviktaeharyā. Begins: Champāē Pāliē nāma | sāvāē āsi vāṇiē | Mahāvīrassa bhagavaō | sīsō sō u mahappaō ||

<sup>13</sup> No. 30 a of Plate ii shows the first and second lines of the obverse, and the second and third lines of the reverse; No. 30 b exhibits the second and third lines of the obverse, and the first and second lines of the reverse.

22. *rahanēmijjaīn*, 49 vv. Of the anōrathanēmivach charaṇaiṁ; utpannaviśrōtasikēnā 'pi dhṛitiḥ kāryā. Begins: [47] Sōriyapurānmi nayarē āsi rāyā mahidhīḥiē | Vasudēva 'tti nāmē-nāīn | rāyalakkhaṇasānjuē || 1 || tassa bhajjā dñvē āsi | Rōhiṇī Dēvāū tāhā | tāsiṁ dñphām pi dō puttā | nīthā Rāma-Kēsavā || 2 || v. 1<sup>a</sup> | Samnddavijaē nāmāīn | v. 1<sup>d</sup> || 3 || tassa bhajjā Sivā nāma | tīsē puttē mahāyāsē | bhagavaiṁ Aritīhanēmi tti | lōganāhē damīsārē || 4 || . . .

23. *Kēsī-Gōyamijjaīn*, Kēsī-Gautamīyāīn; Gōtamakēsīyyāīn S; 89 vv.; chittaviplutili-pārēshām api Kēsī-Gautamavād apanēyā. Begins: jīnē Pāsi tti nāmēnāīn | arahā lōgapūnīē | . . . || 1 || tassa lōgapāīvassa | āsi sīsē mahāyāsē | Kēsī Kumārasamanē | vijjācharanapāragē || 2 ||. See p. 837 on upāīga 2.

24. *sāmīlū, sāmītīō* S, *pavayaṇamāyārō* (!) C; 27 vv. Of the pravachanamātrīśvarūpām, i. e. the 5 samiti and 3 gupti, which are together also called aṭṭha samīlō: iriyā-bhāsē-saṇā dāṇē uchchārē samīl iya | maṇōguttī vayaguttī kāyaguttī ya aṭṭhamā || 2 ||. These are regarded as the mothers as regards the duvālasāīgām Jinākkhāyāīn pavayaṇāīn. See *Ind. Streifen*, 1, 133, 209, 2, 047, in reference to the ethical three-fold division into maṇō, vaya, kāya,

25. *jānnāījjaīn, yajñīyāīn*, 45 vv. Jayaghōshacharitavārṇanadvārēna brahmaguṇā ihō 'chyaīntē. Begins: māhāṇakulasāmībhātō | āsi vippō mahājasō | jāyāī-jamajannammi (yamayajñē) | Jayaghōsu tti nāmātō || . . .

26. *sāmāyārī, dasasāō* C, 53 vv. Only he who is in possession of the brahmaguṇas (chap. 25) is a yati, tēna chā 'vaśyām sāmāchārī vidhēyā. This is ten-fold:<sup>34</sup> [48] āvassiyā, nīshiyā,<sup>35</sup> āpuchhaṇā, paḍipuchhaṇā, chhaṁdaṇā, ichhākārō, michhākārō, abbhūtīhāṇāīm, uvasām-payā. The similar enumeration in Āvaśy. nījj. 7, 12, where there is, however, a different arrangement (the same as in aṅga 3, 10, and Bhag. 25, 7 according to L.): — ichhākārō, michhā, tahakkārō (6—8), āvā<sup>o</sup> . . . chhaṁdaṇā (1—5), nīmaītaṇā (instead of 9), uvasām-payā (10). — Hari-bhadra on Āvaśy. nījj. 6, ss. says<sup>36</sup> that there are three kinds of sāmāchārī, 1. the ḍōghasāmāchārī, represented by the ḍōghaniryukti, on the 20th prābhritāīn (ḍōghaprā<sup>o</sup>) of the 3. vastu (āchārābhīdhāna) pūrva 9, 2. the daśavidhasāmāchārī, for which our chapter and Āv. nījj. 7 is authoritative, and 3. the padavibhāgāsāmāchārī, which too is represented by chhēdāsūtralakṣaṇāīn nāvāmāt pūrvādēva nirvāṇā, or by kalpavyavahārau.<sup>37</sup> — Begins: sāmāyārīō pavakkhāmī savvaduk-khavimukkhaṇīn | jaīn charittāṇā niggamthā | tīnnā sāmīsārasāgaram || 1 ||

27. *khalumkijjaīn, khnluō* V, 15 vv. Of the sātīhatā; the aśātīhatā is the antecedent condition for the sāmāchārī. It begins: thērē gaṇhārē Gagjē (Gārgyāḥ) muṇū āśi visārāē | āīnē gaṇibhāvamni samālīnū paḍisaīndhātē || . . . The name comes from v. 3: khalumkē jō u jōēi, khalumkān galivrisabhān (s. Hēm. 1263) yō yōjayati.

28. *mukkhamaggagaī, sivamaggaō* C, 36 vv. Of the mōkshamārga. Begins: mukkhamag-gagaīn tachchaīn | suṇēha jīnabhāsiyāīn . . .

29. *sammattaparakkamāīn, samyaktvāō*; appamātō S. In prose; anaītaraīn (in chap. 28) jñānādīnī muktimārgatvēnō 'ktānī, tānī cha saīnvēgādīmūlānī akarmatāvāsānānī; [49] yadvā mōkshamārgagatēr apramāda ēva (on this then is based the title in S) pradhānāīn. Enumeration of the 73 saīnvēgādīnī, means of deliverance (cf. Leumann, Gloss. Aup. p. 155, s. v. saīnvējāna): saīnvēgē 1, nīvvē 2, dhammasaddhā 3, gurusāhammiyāsūsāpāyā 4, ālōaṇāyā 5, nīmādaṇāyā 6, garihāṇāyā 7, sāmūnē and the remaining 5 āvassaya 8 — 13 etc. to akammayā 73 (cf. the 48 saīnvēgādīnī, Bhagav. 16, 3, and 27 saīnv. in aṅga 4, 27, Leum.). As in the beginning (see p. 43) so in the end there is a direct reference to Mahāvīra: ēsa khalu sammattaparakkamassa ajjhā-yāpāsā aṭṭhē samājēnāīn bhagavayā Mahāvīrēnāīn agghaviē pannaviē parūviē daīnsiē nidaīnsiē uvadāmisiē tti bēmi.

<sup>34</sup> The word sāmāyārī recalls especially the *sāmāyāchārīkasūtra* of the Brahmins, with which the significance and contents of these texts is in agreement. From this I am led to conclude that sāmāyārī is an intentional deformation of sāmāyāchārī; see pp. 223, 238, 243 fg.

<sup>35</sup> naishēdhikī, see pp. 452, 257.

<sup>36</sup> See pp. 357, 449.

<sup>37</sup> The three sāmāyārī texts which I have before me — see pp. 223, 369 fg. — contain another division than that stated above. Their contents is, however, connected, and they agree in the main with each other.

30. tavamaggijjam, <sup>o</sup>ggô S, <sup>o</sup>maijjam V, 37 vv., tapômârgagati. Begins: jahâ u pâvagam kammaîm râgadôsasamajjiyam | khavéi tavasâ bhikkhû tam êgagamañô sunâ || 1 ||

31. charaṇavîhî, 21 vv.; charaṇavidhi.

32. pamâyatîhânaî, 111 vv.; pramâdashâthânaî. Begins: achchamîtakâlassa samûlayassa | savvassa dukkhassa u jô pamâkkhô | tañ bhâsaô mî pañipannachittâ | sunêha êgamîtahiyam hiyatthaîm.

33. kammaipayadî, karmaprakritih, 25 vv. Begins: attha kammaîm (cf. Bhag. 2, 166) vuchhâmi | ânupuvvîm jahakkamaî | jêhiñ baddhê ayaî jîvê | saînsârê parivattâê || 1 || nâmassâ "varanijjam | dañsañvaraṇaî tahâ | vêyanijjam | tahâ môhaî | âukammaî tahêva ya || 2 || nâmakayyaî cha gôyaîm cha | aîtarâyaîm tahêva ya. Closes: êesiñ sañvarê chêva | khavanê ya jâê (yatêta) buhê tti bêmi || 2 || The nâmam e. g. is (see N. Anuy. Ávaśy. Aupap. p. 41) five-fold: suyaî, ábhinibôhiyaî, ôlinâpaî, mañanâpaî, kêvalam.

34. lêsjjhayañaiñ, lêsyâ<sup>o</sup>, 62 vv.; anaîtaraî (in 33) prakritaya uktâs, tatsthitiñ cha lêsyâ-vaśatah; apâ[40]śastalêsyâtyâgatah prâśastâ êva tâ adhislîhâtatavyâlî. Begins: lêsjjhayañam pavakkhâmi | ânupuvvîm jahakkamaî chhañham pi kammalêśânam | añubhâvê sunêha mî || 1 || Closes: appasathâu vajjittâ | pasatthâu ahitîhâ (adhitishtê) muñi tti bêmi || 62 || Bhag. 1, 100, Leum. Aup. p. 149.

35. añagâramaggam, <sup>o</sup>ggê S, <sup>o</sup>ggô V; 21 vv.; hiñsâparivarjanâdayô bhikkhugunñâh. Begins: sunêha mî êgamañâ magjam Savvannudésiyam | jaññâyaramtô bhikkhû | dukkhâna 'întakarô bhavê || 1 || Closes: nimmamô nirahañkârô vîyarâgô añâsavô | saînpattô kêvalam nâñam sâsayam parinivvuða tti bêmi || 31 ||

36. jîvâjîvavibhattî, 268 vv. Begins: jîvâjîvavibhattim | sunêha mî êgamañâ iô | jaññâyaramtô bhikkhû | sammaîm jayaî saîñjamê || 1 || Closes: ii pâukârê buddhê | nâyâne parinivvuê | chhattisañ uttarajjhâe | bhavasiddhiâ sammaî (saîñvudê A) tti bêmi || 268 ||

At the end in some MSS. of the text and in the scholiast there are added some variant verses of the niryuktikâra in praise of the work: jê kira bhavasiddhiâ | parittasâñsâriâ a jê bhavvâ | tê kira padhâmti êe | chhattisañ uttarajjhâe || 1 || . . .

**XLIV. Second mûlasûtram, ávaśyakasûtram.** By ávaśyaka, as we have often seen in the case of paînna 1, Nandî and Anuyôgadv., are meant six observances which are obligatory upon the Jain, be he layman or clerical. That the regulations in reference to these observations had an established text as early as the date of N and An., is clear from the fact that they appear in the Nandî as the first group of the ayañgapavîttha texts (see above p. 11); and in the Anuyôgadv. the word aijhayâñachhakkavagga is expressly given as its synonym. See p. 22. We have also seen [51] that the Anuyôgadvârasûtram claims to contain a discussion of the first of these 6 ávaśyakas (the sâmâiyam), but that this claim is antagonistic to that limitation of the sâmâiam to the sâvâjjajôgaviratiñ which frequently secures the Anuy. By this limitation an ethical character is ascribed to the work, the contents of which is, furthermore, at variance with the claim made by the Anuy.

The ávaśyakasûtram is a work which deals with all the six ávaśyakas in the order<sup>38</sup> which is followed in the Nandî and Anuyôgadvâra, and discusses the sâmâiam actually, not merely nominally as the Anuyôg. does. Unfortunately we possess, not the text of the ávaśy., but merely the commentary, called sishyahita, of an Haribhadra,<sup>39</sup> which is as detailed as that on mûlas.

<sup>38</sup> See p. 434 on this arrangement.

<sup>39</sup> At the close he is called a pupil of Jinadatta from the Vidyâdharañkula, or an adherent of Sitâmbârâchârya Jinabhañta: samâptâ chê 'yam sishyahitâ nâmâ "vaśyakañkâ, kritih Sitâmbârâchârya Jinabhatanâdûnârîñô Vidyâdharañkulañkâchârya Jinadattañkshyasya dharmatô jôinî (yâkinî!)-mahattarâmnâñralpamñnarâ(?)chârya Haribhadrañya. The Gañadharasârdhañata is here referred to (cf. v. 52 fg.) and the great Haribhadra (+ Vira 1055): see pp. 371, 372, 456 fg. In Peterson's *Detailed Report* (1883) we find cited (pp. 6-9) under No. 12 a vritti of a Sri-Tilakâchârya, scholar of Sîvaprabha, composed saîñvat 1296.

1. Of this commentary there is but one MS., which, though written regularly enough, is very incorrect and fails in every way to afford the reader any means of taking a survey of its contents by the computation of the verses, etc. It labours under the defect of such manuscript commentaries in citing<sup>40</sup> the text with the *pratikas* only and not in full, with the exception of foll. 73<sup>b</sup> to 153<sup>b</sup><sup>41</sup> and some other special passages. The text is divided according to the commentary into [52] the six *ajjhayaṇas*, with which we are already acquainted: — 1. the *sāmājam*, the *sāvajjōjōgavirāi*, which extends to fol. 196<sup>b</sup>, 2. the *chaṇīvīśāthava* or praise of the 24 *Jinas*, extending to 204<sup>b</sup>, 3. *vāṇḍanayaṇ* or honor paid to the teachers, reaching to 221<sup>a</sup>, 4. *paṭikkamaṇam*, confession and renunciation (to 298<sup>b</sup>), 5. *kāussaga*, expiation to (315<sup>a</sup>), and 6. *pachchakkhāṇai*, acceptance of the twelve *vratas* (to 342<sup>a</sup>).

By *sāmājam* much more than the *sāvajjōjōgavirati* is meant. It is etymologically explained by *samānām* *jñānadarśanachāritrāṇam* *āyah* (35<sup>b</sup>). It treats not merely of the doctrine of Mahāvīra on this point, but also of the history of the doctrine itself, *i. e.* of the predecessors of Māhāv., of himself, of his eleven *gaṇaharas* and of his opponents, the different schisms (*nīṇhagas*, *nīhnavas*) which gradually gained a foothold in his teachings. The latter are chronologically fixed. Haribhadra quotes very detailed legends (*kathānakas*) in Prākṛit prose (sometimes in metre) in this connection and also in connection with the *diṭṭhīnta* and *udāharāṇa* which are frequently mentioned in the text. These legends have doubtless been borrowed from one of his predecessors whose commentary was composed in Prākṛit. The remarks of this predecessor, cited elsewhere either directly as those of the Bhāshyakāra (see on *Nijj.* 10, 47), or without further comment or mention of his name, he has incorporated into his own commentary. This too was here and there composed in Prākṛit. Occasional reference is made to a *mūlaṭikā* (see on *Nijj.* 19, 122), which in turn appears to have been the foundation of the Bhāshyakāra.

[53] Even if we do not possess the text of the *śaḍāvāśyakasūtram* with its six *ajjhayaṇas* which was commented upon by Haribhadra, our loss is to a great degree compensated by a metrical *Nijjuttī*. This is even called *āvāśyakasūtram* at the close in the MSS., and is probably the only *Āvāśyakasūtram* which is extant.<sup>42</sup> At least Haribhadra regarded it as an integral portion of his text. He has incorporated it, with but a few omissions, into his commentary, and commented upon it verse for verse. He cites its author not merely as *Niryuktikṛit*, <sup>o</sup>*kāra*, (*e. g.* on chap. 16, 17) as *Saṅgrahāṇikāra*, as *Mūlabhāshyakṛit* (*e. g.* 2, 135), or even merely as *Bhāshyakāra* (*e. g.* on 2, 70, 142, *i. e.* just as the author of the above mentioned commentary in Prākṛit prose) but also occasionally as *grāmthakāra*, <sup>o</sup>*kṛit* (see for example *Nijj.* 8, 44, 10, 95), and even as *sūtrakāra*, <sup>o</sup>*kṛit* (*e. g.* *Nijj.* 1, 76, 16, 50). The verses of the *Nijj.* are occasionally called<sup>43</sup> *sūtras* by him! From a consideration of these facts we are led to the conclusion that the sole difference between the text commented on by Har. and the *Nijj.* lies in the different division — the text being divided into 6, the *Nijj.* into 20 *ajjhayaṇas*. See below. The fact that Har. does not cite at all some sections of the *Nijjuttī* (for example the *Thērāvalī* at the very start) may, however, be held to militate against the above conclusion. His text too contains besides the *Nijj.* several other parts, chiefly in prose, [54] which he calls *sūtras* or words of the *sūtrakāra* (see *Nijj.* 13, 53), *e. g.* especially a *pratikramāṇasūtram* given *in extenso*. He furthermore occasionally contrasts the *sūtrāgāthā* or *mūlasūtrāgāthā* with the *gāthās* of the *Niryuktikāra*. See on *Niry.* 11, 39, 61.<sup>44</sup>

With this the following fact is in agreement: — several times in the MSS. of the *Nijj.* there are inserted in the text short remarks in Sanskrit which refer to the proper *sūtram*. This *sūtram* has, however, not been admitted into the text, *e. g.* *Nijj.* 10, 2, 12, 176. In one case, chap. 20, this *sūtra* portion (in prose) has actually been incorporated into the *Nijj.*

<sup>40</sup> 342 foll. Each page has 17 lines of 58—63 aksh. each.

<sup>41</sup> *Nijj.* 3, 315—9, 3.

<sup>42</sup> Cf., however, the *āvāśyakaśrutaskandha* in Kielhorn's *Report*, 1881, p. 92, and the *śaḍāvāśyakasūtram* in Bühler's paper in the *Journol of the Vienna Acad.* 1881, p. 574.

<sup>43</sup> *e. g.* *tathā chē 'hū' padēśikaiḥ gāthāsūtram āha Niryuktikārah: saṁsāra* (2, 15).

<sup>44</sup> In other passages, however, he says that the verses even of the *Nijj.* are *sūtras*! See p. 53, note 2.

It is, furthermore, noteworthy that in the Nijjutti, too, Haribhadra distinguishes different constituent parts and different authors (see p. 53). He refers its verses at one time to the niryukti(kâra), mûlabhâshyakâra,<sup>45</sup> and at another to the saṅgrahaṇikâra, or even sûtrakrit(!). He thus brings these verses into direct contrast with each other<sup>46</sup> and subjects them to different treatment, by citing some, perhaps those of more recent date, in full, [55] either word for word or without commentary; while the remainder he cites as a rule merely by their *pratîkas* and then explains, first by a *gamanikâ*, or *aksharagam*, *i. e.* a translation of each word, and finally by expository remarks called out by the nature of the subject.<sup>47</sup>

Haribhadra too appears to have found a special defect existing in his sûtra text. Between chapters 8 and 9 of the Nijj. we ought to find the sûtrasparśinî nijjuttî according to his statement; but: nô 'chyatê, yasmâd asati sûtrê (!) kasyâ 'sâv iti. Haribhadra devotes a long discussion to sûtras in general, which recurs Nijj. 10, 2, 89, 11, 7 (sûtra and niryukti), 12, 17, 13, 55.

Using due caution in reference to an explanation of the mutual relation which exists in our text between Sutta and Nijjutti, and in reference to the form of the text of the *Āvaśyakam* which existed in the time of Haribhadra, I subjoin a **review of the 20 ajjhayaṇas of the existing Nijj.** The two MSS. which I possess (the second I call B) show many divergences from one another, some of which are explainable on the score of inexact computation of the verses. Other MSS. contain much greater variations. The passages cited in Jacobi, *Kalpas*. p. 100 (104) as 2, 97, and p. 101 as 2, 332, are *e. g.* here 3, 281 (291), 332 (342). Very great divergences come to light in the two MSS. in Peterson's [56] *Detailed Report* (1883), pp. 124 and 127. These MSS. are numbered Nos. 273 (= P) and 306 (= π, with a break in the beginning; and chapters 1, 2 and 6 are lost). The text is composed exclusively in gâthâs. One of its special peculiarities is formed by the frequent dâragâthâs, *i. e.* verses which state briefly the contents of what follows, principally by the enumeration of the catch-words or titles of paragraphs. Unfortunately the use or denotation of these verses is not regular; from which fact the benefit to be derived from this otherwise excellent method of division is materially reduced. The Nom. Sgl. Masc. 1. Decl. ends, with but very few exceptions, in ḍ.

It must be prefaced that Haribhadra treats chap. 1—10 under ajjhayaṇa 1, 11—12 under ajjh. 2 and 3 respectively, 13—18 under ajjh. 4, and the last two chapters under ajjh. 5 and 6 respectively. This is done, however, without specially marking off the conclusions of the chapters of the Nijj.<sup>48</sup> Only the conclusions of the six ajjhayaṇas are distinguished from the others.

1. *pedhiā, pîthikâ*, 131 vv. (in P the *thirâvalî* has nominally 125 and *pedhiyâ* 81 gâ<sup>o</sup>!) It begins with the same *Thêrâvalî* (50 vv.) that occurs in the beginning of the *Nandî*, and treats, from v. 51 on, of the different kinds of nâṇa (cf. *Nandi* and *Annyôgadv.*). Haribhadra does not explain the *Thêrâvalî* at all and begins his commentary (fol. 3) at v. 51: abhinibô-hianâṇaṁ | suanâṇaṁ chêva ôhinâṇaṁ cha | taha maṇapajjavanâṇaṁ | kêvalanâṇaṁ cha painchamayaṁ || 51 ||

<sup>45</sup> *e. g.* 4, 3, iyaṁ niryuktigâthâ, êtâs tu mûlabhâshyakâragâthâ: bhîmattha<sup>o</sup> (4, 4—6).

<sup>46</sup> The sûtrakrit appears here as later than the *saṅgrahaṇikâra*, fol. 260a: — tân abhidhîtsur âha saṅgrahaṇikâraḥ: ambâ (Nijj. 16, 48) gâthâ, asi<sup>o</sup> (49) gâthâ; idam gâthâdvayam sûtrakriti-niryuktigâthâbhîr eva prakaṭîrthâbhîr vyâkhyâyatê (sûtrakriti . . . vyâkhyâtê or sûtrakriti niryu . . . vyâkhyâti would be better); dhâdaṁti padhâdaṁti . . .; then follows the text of Nijj. 16, 50—64 in full but without commentary. Here it is to be noticed that one of the MSS. of the Nijj. in my possession omits these 15 verses from the text. See p. 59 in regard to the assumption that the Nijj. is the work of several authors.

<sup>47</sup> An occasional reference to other methods of treating the subject is found, *e. g.* 2, 61, iti samâśrthah, vyâśrthas tu viśêshavivarâṇâd avagâmtavyah. Or on 10, 19, iti gâthâksharârthah, bhâvârthas tu bhâshyagâthâbhîyô 'vasêyah, tâś chê 'mâḥ (in Prâkrit, but not from the Nijj.)

<sup>48</sup> Chapter 8 forms an exception, though at the end at least it says: samâptâ chê 'yam npôdghâstâñi niryuktir iti, but in such a way that it is not mentioned as the "eighth chapter"; nor is the statement made that it is concluded.

[57] 2. *pañhamā varachariā*, 173 (178 P, 179 B) vv., treats, from v. 69 on, of the circumstances of the lives, etc., of the 24 Jinas, especially of Usabha, the first of their number. In the introduction it is of extreme interest to notice the statements of the author in reference to his own literary activity. It is as follows :

titthayarē bhagavaiñtē | anuttaraparakkamē amianāñū | tinnē sugaīgaīgāē | siddhipahapāñsāē  
vañdāē || 1 ||

vañdāmi mahābhāgañ | mahāmuñiñ mahāyasam Mahāvīram | amaranararāyamahiam |  
titthayaram imassa titthassa || 2 || ikkārasa vi gañaharē | pavayāñē pavayañassa vañdāmi |  
savvaiñ gañaharavañsañ | vāyagavañsañ pavayañaiñ cha || 3 || tē vañdiñsa sirasā | atthapu-  
huttassa<sup>49</sup> tēhiñ kahissa | suanāñassa bhagavaô | niyyuttim<sup>50</sup> kittañsāmi || 4 || āvassagassa  
dasakā- | liassa taha uttarajjha-m-āyārē<sup>51</sup> | suagadē niyyuttiñ | buchchhāmi taha dasāñam  
cha || 5 || kappassa ya niyyuttiñ | vavahārassē 'va paramaniñassa | sūriapannattē | buchchhām  
isibhāsiñpāñ<sup>52</sup> cha || 6 ||

ēesiñ niyyuttiñ | buchchhāmi alañ jinōvāñsēñam | āharanahēukārāna- | payanivaham inām  
samāñsēñam || 7 ||

sāmāñianiyuttim | buchchhām uvāñsiam gurujanēñam | āyariaparañparēna | āgayañ  
āñpupuvvīñē || 8 ||

niyyuttā tō .atthā | jañ baddhā tēñ hōi niyyuttī | taha vi aī chchhāvē | vibhāsiñ  
suttaparivāñdī || 9 ||

There is no doubt that we have here the beginning of a work, [58] and that chapter 1 (which is itself called *pīthikā*, support, complement) did not yet precede these verses at the period of their origin.<sup>53</sup> From vv. 5 and 8 we learn that the author does not intend to write an introduction merely for this second chapter, but that his work is designed for all the āvaśyaka matter and especially the sāmāñiam. The separate statements of his account show that he intended to carry his investigations into the first two aīgas too, the fifth upāñgam, three chhēdasūtras, two more mūlasūtras,<sup>54</sup> and, if ḥaribhadra's explanation of isibhāsiñ is correct,<sup>55</sup> to pañna 7 fgg.

If we compare these statements with those in the commentary of *Rishimandalasūtra* in Jacobi, *Kalpas*, p. 12, in reference to the ten *niryuktis* composed by Bhadrabāhu, it is manifest that they are identical (instead of *kalakasya* in the passage in Jacobi we must read *kalpakasya*), and that Bhadrabāhu must be regarded as the one who in our passage speaks in the first person. This conclusion, however, is not supported by the *Thērāvalī* in chap. 1, which, as we have seen, p. 7, is much later than Bhadrabāhu. Nevertheless, we have just above formed the opinion that this contradiction is immaterial, since this *pīthikā* is to be regarded as not extant at the time of the composition of chap. 2. [59] The greater is, however, the contradiction which is disclosed by other parts of the text, notably the first verse of the *ōghaniryukti* cited as 6, 59, and chapter 8, etc. The statements made there refer to a period much later than that of Bhadrabāhu, the old bearer of this name, and who is assumed to be the last *chaüddasapuvvi* († *Vīra* 170). All these statements must either be regarded as alien to the original text, or the

<sup>49</sup> arthappitthutvam.

<sup>50</sup> sūtrārthayāñ parasparsaiñ niryōjanāñ niryuktih; — kiñ asēshasya śrutajñānasya? nō, kiñ tarhi? śrutavisē-  
shāññām āvaśyakādīnām ity ata āvā "ha: āvassa"; — niryukti is perhaps an intentional variation of niryukti.

<sup>51</sup> samudāyaśabdāññām avayavē vṛittidarsanād, yathā Bhīmasēna Sēna iti, uttarādhyā ity uttarādhyayānam  
avasēyam.

<sup>52</sup> dēvēñdrastavādīnām.

<sup>53</sup> They are placed thus in a palmleaf MS., No. 23, in Peterson's *Det. Report* (1883) (only 1, 51 ābhīnibōhia . . . ,  
see p. 56, precedes) at the beginning of a text entitled "niryuktayah," which contains at least several, if not all,  
of the above 10 niry.

<sup>54</sup> dasavēñlām is undoubtedly referred to under dasakāliam. See the same denotation in v. 1 of the four  
gāthās added there at the close. For the abbreviation see note 3 on p. 57 in reference to *uttarajha*.

<sup>55</sup> This is, however, extremely doubtful as regards the existing pañnam called dēvēñdrastava. See pp. 442,  
259, 272, 280, 281, 402, 429, 431, 43.

person in question may be one of the *later* bearers of the name of Bhadrabâhu, to whom these ten Niryuktis might be referred. The further course of the account would then determine to what and to how late a period this Bhadr. belonged. All this is, however, on the supposition that we should have to assume that all the other chapters of the Nijjuttî were the work of but one hand! In this connection the distinction is of significance which Haribhadra — see above pp. 54, 55 — draws in reference to the separate constituent parts of the Nijj. The fourteenth chapter is expressly stated by him to have been composed by another author, *viz.* Jîjabhadda. See my remarks on pp. 61, 62 in reference to the incorporation of the ôhanijjuttî. The result is that chap. 14 and several other chapters (9, 11, 12, 20) exist in a detached form in the MSS., without any connection with *âv. nijj.* At any rate the statements made in the text remain of extreme interest since they show the interconnection of the ten niryuktis mentioned in the text, and their relation to one author. A good part of these niry. appears to be still extant. [60] As regards the MS. of the niryuktayâh, mentioned above p. 58<sup>a</sup>, we must confess that Peterson's account does not make it clear in which of the above ten texts it is contained. On the âchârânirynkti see p. 258, Peterson, Palm-leaf 62, Kielhorn's Report (1881) p. 10; on a sûyagañanijj. see Pet. Palm-leaf, 59, a dasavâelianijj. *ib.* 167. We have also citations from the nijj. in *up. 5* and *mûlas. 1*.

What follows is very interesting :—

atthaṁ bhâsaī arahâ | suttam̄ gaṁthaṁti gaṇaharâ niuṇam̄ | sâsanâssâ(°nasa !)hi atthâē | taō suttam̄ pavattai || 13 ||

sâmâia-m-âiām̄ | suanâṇam̄ jâva biṁdusârâō | tassa vi sârô charanâm̄ | sârô charanâssâ nivvâṇam̄ || 14 ||

Here the *contents* of the doctrine is referred back to Arahan, but the *composition* of its textual form is ascribed to the gaṇaharas. See pp. 216, 345, above p. 35 and p. 80. The word sâmâiam̄, which we have found in v. 8 used as the title of the first âvâsyaka, is now used in its other signification, *i.e.* as the title of aṅga 1; for biṁdusâra is the title of the first pûrva book in the dîttihîvâ, aṅga 12. See above pp. 243, 244.

3. *bîā varachariâ*, 349 (also P<sub>π</sub>, 359 B) vv., of like contents.<sup>56</sup> It begins Vîram Arîththâ-nêmîm Pâsañ Mallîm cha Vâsupujjâm cha | êê muṭṭûna Jînê avasêṣâ âsi râyâñô || . . . . Despite its seeming exactness, its statements give the impression of being apocryphal. Verses 2-7 (297) fg. treat of Siddhattha and Tisalâ,<sup>57</sup> the fourteen dreams of Tis., etc.

[61] 4. *uvasaggâ*, 69 (70 P<sub>π</sub>) vv., treats especially of Vîra.<sup>58</sup> The statements made here in chapter 4 take almost no notice at all of the facts in reference to the life of Vîra that are found here and there in the aṅgas; nor does the Kalpasûtram (see p. 474) devote a greater amount of attention to this subject.

5. *samavasarânam*, 69 (64 P) vv., as above.

6. *gaṇaharavâô*, 88 (33 P, 90 B) vv. (is wanting in  $\pi$ ); the history of the 11 pupils of Vîra: Iindabhûi 1, Aggibhûi 2, Vâubhûi 3, Viatta 4, Suhamma 5, Mâmidia 6, Môriaputta 7, Akâmpia 8, Ayalabhâyâ 9, Mêajja 10, Pabhâsa 11 (see Hêmach. vv. 31, 32); titthaṁ cha Suhainmâô, niravachchâ gaṇaharâ sêṣâ (v. 5). The contents is as above, and almost no reference is paid to the account in the aṅgas. It concludes with the statement (above p. 48): sâmâyâri tivihâ: ôhê dasahâ padavibhâgê || 88 ||; in B there follows, as if belonging to this chapter, as v. 89 the beginning verse of the ôghanirynkti, and thereupon the statement ittha 'intarê ôhanijjuttî bhâniyavvâ. In A v. 89 appears as v. 1 at the beginning of chap. 7 and then follows in partial Sanskrit: atthau<sup>59</sup> 'ghaniryuktir vaktavyâ; after this verse 1 of chap. 7 according to the new computation. There is probably an interpolation here. Since chap. 7 treats

<sup>56</sup> Jina 6 is called Pañmâbha (v. 23), Jina 8 Sasippâha (v. 24), Jina 19 Malli appears as a masc. (Mallissa v. 30).

<sup>57</sup> On Dêvânañlâ see v. 279 (280); but Usabhadatta is not mentioned. We read Sômilâbhîdhânô in the scholiast.

<sup>58</sup> G. sâla v. 15 fg.

<sup>59</sup> attha instead of atra.

of the second of the three sāmāchāris enumerated in 6, ss, and the first receives no mention, it was necessary to remedy this defect. The third sāmāchāri is, according to the statements of the scholiast here and elsewhere, pp. 357, 449, represented by the two chhēdasūtras: *kalpa* and *vyavahāra*. It is very probable that the interpolation is not merely one of secondary origin, but an interpolation inserted by the author himself. [62] If this is so, he deemed the ḫanijjutti which he had before him (perhaps his own production) to be the best expression of the *first* form of the 3 sāmāchāris, and consequently, not taking the trouble to compose a new one, incorporated<sup>60</sup> *brevi manu* this ḫanijj. (cf. above p. 59), or rather referred to it merely by the citation of its introductory verse. A complete incorporation brought with it no little difficulty, because of the extent of the text in question.<sup>61</sup> The economy of the whole work would have lost considerably if the entire text had been inserted. The text which we possess under this name and of which the first verse alone is cited here, consists of 116<sup>62</sup> Prākrit gāthās.<sup>63</sup> I shall refer to it later on, and call attention for the present to what I have said on p. 357<sup>n 2</sup>:— that the first verse cited here from it, in that it mentions the dasapuṇvi, excludes any possibility of that Bhadrabāhusvāmin, whom tradition calls the author of the ḫghaniryukti, having been the first bearer of this name, who is stated to have been the last chaüddasapuṇvi. The same, of course, holds good *à fortiori* of the author of our text, in which this verse is quoted.

7. **dasavihasāmāyārī**, 64 (P π, 65 B) vv. ; cf. *uttarajjh.* 26 ; the enumeration here in chapter 7 is as follows (see above p. 48): *ichchhā, michchhā, tahakkārō, àvassiā nisīhiā, apuchchhaṇā ya* [63] *paḍipuchchhā chhaīdaṇā ya nimaiṭṭaṇā ॥ 1 ॥ uvasaīpayaṇā ya kālē sāmāyārī bhavē dasavihā u ॥ eēsim tu payāṇām pattēa parūvaṇām buchchham ॥ 2 ॥*

8. **uvagghāyanijjutti**, 211 (214 B, 216 P, 210 π) vv. In vv. 40-50 glorification of Ajja-Vayarā (plur. maj.), <sup>64</sup> Vāīrā, Vajrasvāmin, who extracted<sup>65</sup> the ḫāgāsagamā vijjā from the mahāpaīnnā (see p. 251) and made ample use of the latter. In his time there still existed (p. 247) apuhattē kāliāṇuōassa, apṛīthaktvām kalikānnyōgasya, but after him (tēṇā "rēṇā, tata ārataḥ, Haribh.), i. e. perhaps *through* him there came into existence puhattām kāliasua dīṭṭhivāā a,<sup>66</sup> pṛīthaktvām kālikaśrutē drishṭivādē cha (v. 40). Tumbavaṇa, Ujjēṇī, Dasapnra, nayaram Kusumanāmē (Pāṭaliputra) appear in regular order as exercising an important influence upon his life. In vv. 50—53 glorification of his successor Rakkhiajjā (plur. maj.), Rakkhiakhamanā, i. e. of Ārya Rakshitasvāmin, son of Sōmadēva and Ruddasōmā, (elder) brother of Phaggurakkhia and pupil of Tōsaliputta. These two names: Vajrasvāmin and Āryarakshita (cf. Hēmachandra's pariśiṣṭāp. chaps. 12, 13), especially as they are regarded here as persons deserving of great honor, bring us to a period much later than the *old* Bhadrabāhusvāmin. According to the statements of the modern Thērāvālī (see Klatt, l. c. pp. 246b, 247a), 252a, his death is placed Vīra 170, but that of Vajra, 400 years later, Vīra 584.<sup>67</sup> We will find below that [64] there is mentioned here another date later by several years. Hēm. v. 34 too says that Vajra is the last "daśapūrvīn," one who still has knowledge of 10 of the 14 pūrvas, and in general that he is regarded as deserving great honour as regards the transmission of the sacred texts. See the account of Dharmaghōsha on the Kupakshakauśik., Kup. p. 21 (811). The two-fold division into kāliasua and dīṭṭhivāā (also in the Anuyōgadv. above, pp. 36, 40), dating back as far as Vajra according to v. 40, is in contrast to a no less peculiar division into four parts, referred back in v. 54 fg. to Ārya Rakshita: kāliasuaṁ cha isibhāsiyāṁ taiō a sūrapan-

<sup>60</sup> In the *Vidhiprapā* (in v. 7 des *jōgavīhāṇa*) the ḫanijjutti is said to be "ōinnā," avatīrṇā into the àvassayam-

<sup>61</sup> Haribh. says: sāmīpratām ḫghaniryuktir vāchyā, sā cha prapaīchitativāt (perhaps on account of its fulness) na vivriyatē; and likewise at the end: idāñīm padavibhāgasāmāchāryāḥ prastāvāḥ, sā cha kalpavyavahārārūpā bahuvistarā svasthānād avasēyā; ity uktā sāmāchāryupakramakālah.

<sup>62</sup> The ḫghaniryukti, which in P π is actually incorporated with the text, has but 58 (or 79 π) verses. See below, p. 82.

<sup>63</sup> But according to the *Ganadharasārdhaśāṭa*, v. 29, it was taken from the sumahāpaīnnapuṇvā! see p. 479.

<sup>64</sup> In v. 36 there was mention of 700 (!) or 500 nayas, eēhim (v. 37) dīṭṭhivāā parūvaṇā suttātthakahanā ya; each of the 7 etc. nayas — see p. 350 ff. and p. 39 — sāṭavidhāḥ.

<sup>65</sup> See also *Kupakshak.* p. 21 (811)n.

nattî | savvô a ditthivâô chaütthaô hîi aṇuôgô || 54 || jâm cha mahâkappasuam jâni a sêṣâni chhêasuttâni | charanakarapâṇûnôga tti kâliathê uvagayâni || 55 || Here then the isibhâsiyâinî (which Har. explains here by *uttarâdhyayanâdîni* ! see above pp. 43, 58) and upâṅga 5 are enumerated as members holding equal rank<sup>66</sup> with the kâliasuam, *i. e.* aṅgas 1—11, and the ditthivâa, *i.e.* aṅga 12. Although the “mahâkappasuam” and “the other chhêdasûtras” (kalpâdîni, scholiasts) are said to have been borrowed from aṅga 12, they are akin (or *rishibhâshita*) to the kâliasua, *i. e.* aṅgas 1 to 11. Such is apparently Haribh.'s conception of the passage.<sup>67</sup>

[65] In this text we notice that the different sections are frequently joined together without any break; and such is the case here. In vv. 56 to 96 we find very detailed statements in reference to the **seven ninhagas, niknavas, schisms**.<sup>68</sup> After an enumeration (v. 56) of the names there follows a list of their founders, the place of their origin (v. 59), the date of their foundation (vv. 60, 61), and then a more exact list of all in regular order, though in a most brief and hence obscure fashion, the catch-words alone being cited. The kathânakas etc. adduced in the scholiast, help us but little to clear up this obscurity. The first two schisms occurred during the life of Vîra, the first (vv. 62, 63), the Bahuraya, bahrata, under Jamâli in Sâvathî in the fourteenth year after he obtained knowledge (Jinâ uppâdiassa nînassa), — the second (vv. 64, 65), the Jîvapañsiya, under Tisagutta (chaüdasapuvvi) in Usabhapura in the sixteenth year thereafter. The third schism (vv. 66, 67), the Avvattaga, avyaktaka, under Âsâdha in Sâbiâ (Svîtavîkâ), in the 214th year after the end of Vîra's death (siddhiîn gayassa Vîrassa). They were “brought back to the right faith” (Jacobi, *Kalpas.* p. 9) by the Muria (Maurya) Balabhadra in Râyagiha. The fourth schism (vv. 68, 69), the Sâmuchchhêa or <sup>o</sup>chhêhêa under Âsamitta (Âsâva<sup>o</sup>) in Mihilapura (Mithilâ) is placed in the year 220 after Vîra.<sup>69</sup> The fifth (vv. 70, 71), [66] the Dôkirîya, under Gañga in Ullamañra (? A, Ullaga B, Ulluga scholiast, Ullukâ in Skr.) in the year 228. The sixth, the Têrâsia, traîrâsika, under Chhaluga in Añtarâmjiâ, in the year 544, is treated of at greater length (vv. 72—87), though in a very obscure fashion. We have already seen (p. 351) that aṅga 12, according to the account of aṅga 4 and Nandî, devoted considerable attention to these schisms. Finally, the thêrâvalî of the Kalpasûtra (§ 6) contains several statements in reference to the Têrâsiyâ sâhâ and its founder Chhaluê Rôhaguttê Kôsiyagottê. The latter it calls the scholar of Mahâgiri, who, as in the thêrâvalî of the Nandî, is called the ninth successor of Vîra. But this is not in harmony with the above-mentioned date (544 after Vîra), since it is equivalent to an allotment of 60 years to each patriarchate. There is then here, as in the case of the name of the founder of the fourth schism — see 351<sup>a</sup>, 381 — a considerable discrepancy in the accounts. The seventh schism, the Abaddhiâ (vv. 88—91), under Gotthâmâhila in Dasapura is referred to the year 584 and brought into connection with Ayya Rakkhia, Pûsamitta and with the ninth *puvva* (p. 356). The first of these statements harmonizes with the other information concerning Rakkhia which we possess. See p. 63, Klatt p. 247<sup>b</sup>. The name Pûsamitta is frequently met with. According to Mérutuñga's *Vichârasrêni* (see Bühler, *ante*, 2, 362, and Jacobi, *Kalpas.* p. 7), there reigned a Pûsamitta, successor of the Maurya (the Pushyamitra of the *Mahâbhâshya*, etc.!), in the years 323—353 after Vîra. Neither can he be the one referred to here, nor the Pûsamitta who was

<sup>66</sup> The terminology in the Nandî — see above p. 11 — is quite different. There the kâliam suam, together with the ukkâliam, as a subdivision of the anaṅgapavîttha texts, is opposed to the duvâlasamga gaṇip.; the isibhâsiâinî, together with the sûrap. are regarded as parts of the kâliyam. In reference to the use of the word in *Anuy.* see above, p. 36 n 2.

<sup>67</sup> upalakshanât kâlikâśrutam charanakarapâṇuyôgah, rishibhâshitâni dharmakathânuvôga iti gamyatê; sarvâ cha drishtivâdaś chaturthô bhavaty annyôgab. dravyânuvôga iti; tatra rishibhâshitâni dharmakathânuvôga ity uktani, tataś cha mahâkalpaśrutâdîni rishibhâshitam tvâ (tatvât?), drishṭivâdâd uddhritya teshâm pratipâditavât. dharmakathânuvôgavâ (? tvâch cha?) prasâṅga ity atas tadapôdhvârachikirshayâ “ha: jañ cha . . (v. 55). See p. 258.

<sup>68</sup> See above, pp. 275, 381 on aṅga 3 and upâṅga 1. Further information is found in the second chhêdasûtra (see p. 463) and in the scholiast on *uttarajjh.* 3, 9.

<sup>69</sup> Abhayadêva on up. 1 mentions Pushyamitra instead of Âsamitta. See p. 331. Is this merely a *lapseus calami*?

the founder of the Pûsamittijñān kulam of Chârañagâna in § 7 of the thêrâvalî of the Kalpas., which emanated from Sirigutta, the pupil of the tenth [67] patriarch Suhatthi. The name Pûsamitta occurs here too in chap. 17 (16), 190 (see p. 74<sup>n</sup>), as that of a contemporary of king Muñimbaga and of Ayya Pussabhû. Abhayadêva on up. 1 mentions him as the founder of the fourth schism. See p. 65<sup>n</sup>.

In addition to these seven schisms there was an eighth(vv. 92—95), that of the Bôdia, Pauñika, according to Haribh., under Sivabhû in Rahavîrapura (Ratha<sup>o</sup>) in the year 609. According to the account in Dharmaghôsha's scholiast on his Knpakshakanû., the Digambaras are referred to; see Kup. p. 6 (796) where I have attempted to shew that the name Bôdia has the same meaning (naked) as digambara. The animosity against the Bôtikas is as keen as can possibly be imagined. In the 22nd chapter of the Vichârâmrîtasamîgraha, the remaining 7 nînavas are said, according to Malayagiri's commentary on the Ávaśy., to be dêśavisaṁvâdinô dravyaliṅgânâ 'bhêdinô, but the Bôtika: sarvavisaṁvâdinô dravyaliṅgatô 'pi bhinnâs. Similarly Haribh. on v. 92 (dêśavi<sup>o</sup> and prabhûtavi<sup>o</sup>); see also Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 15<sup>n</sup>. In the kâlasattarî, v. 40, they appear as khamañâ pâsañdiyâ; also in Kup. 1, 37, 71, 2, 3; *ibid.* 1, 8, or as khavañaya, i. e. kshapañaka. See below, p. 75.

In contradistinction to these heterodox opinions (mîchhâdiñthi) we have the praises of the sâmâianîm sung in v. 102 fg. We find it called<sup>70</sup> (v. 108) an "ajjhayañam" as opposed to the "remaining (five) ajjhayañas;" and the two verses closing with the refrain ii kêvalibhâsiñ [68] are cited in reference to it. These verses recur in the Anuyôgadvârasûtra (see above, pp. 37, 38) as I have shewn on Bhagav. 2, 185. After the conclusion of the upôdghâtaniryukti we find in the scholiast (see above p. 55) the following statement: atra sûtrasparśikaniryukti (see p. 38)-avasarañ, sâ cha prâptâvasarâ 'pi nô 'chyatâ, yasmâd asati sûtrê kasyâ 'sâv iti; to which is joined an elaborate deduction in reference to sutta and niryukti.

9. **namukkâranijjutti**, 139 (P<sub>π</sub>, 144 B) vv. Towards the end we find the verse êsô pañcha<sup>o</sup> (132), glorifying the pañchanamukkâra, a verse we have already met with in upâṅga 4; see p. 393. In the last pâda we have here the reading havâi mañgalâñ; see Kup. p. 21 (811) fg., where this form of the verse is referred directly back to śrî-Vajrasvâmin. See p. 38<sup>n, 3</sup> on v. 6<sup>b</sup>. A detached copy is found in Peterson, Palm-leaf No. 77<sup>b</sup>.

10. **sâmâianijjutti**, 100 (π, 111 P, 112 B) vv. Begins: nañdi-anuôgadâram vihivad uvagghâiañ cha kâññam | kâññâ pañchamañgala-m ârambhô hîi suttassa || 1 || The knowledge of the nañdi and of the anuôgad.<sup>71</sup> is here regarded as a preliminary condition for the understanding of the sûtra. This citation is both *per se* of interest (see p. 3), and also because from it we can prove that the ávaśyaka texts quoted in these two works are to be distinguished from our áv. nijj. — though this was tolerably self-evident after the remarks on p. 53 ff. The text continues:

ahavâ (!): kayapañchanamukkârô karêi sâmâianîm ti sô bhihiñ | sâmâianîmgam êva ya jañ sô sêsañ aô buñchhañ [69] || 2 || sûtram (atrâ 'intarê sûtrañ vâchyam B). On this Har. (see between 8 and 9): atrâ 'intarê sûtrasparśaniryuktir uchyatâ, svasthânatvâd, âha cha niryuktikâralâ: akkhaliya (v. 3) tti,<sup>72</sup> gâhâ. We have here then a very incomplete quotation of the text, see above p. 55. — In vv. 30—38 there are special statements in reference to the 11 karañas, the fourth of which is here called thîvilôyañam. See p. 414. In v. 40 we find a division of the suññai into baddhañ and abaddhañ. The former is explained by duvâlasaingaiñ and called nisîhañ and anisîhañ (see pp. 452, 553); the nisîhañ is explained as pachhannaiñ, and the following added in illustration: — nisîhañ nâma jaha 'jjhayañam (v. 41). In verse 42 we

<sup>70</sup> ajjhayañam pi a tiviham | suttê atthê tad-ubhâc chêva | sêscu vi ajjhayañesu (chaturviñśatistavâdîshu) hîi êsê 'va nijjutti (uddêśanîrdeśâdikâ niruktiparyavasânâ).

<sup>71</sup> nañdiñ cha anuyôgadvârâñi cha Haribh.

<sup>72</sup> akkhaliyasâñhâñi vakkhâñachañkâñ darisammi | suttapphâsianijjutivitharaththô imô hîi || schol. tatrâ 'skhalitapadôchchârañam samhitâ, athavâ parah sâñnikarshâñ samhitâ (a fine Brahminical reminiscence!) . . padam, samuhitâ, padârtha, padavîgrâha, châlanâ, pratyavasthâñam (see above p. 38) are here referred to.

find a citation from pûrva 2 — see above p. 354 — in immediate conjunction with the foregoing.

11. *chaüvisatthaü*, 62 (61 BP) vv., second ajjhayaü in Haribh. Stands alone in Peterson's Palm-leaf 77e.

12. *vamdañanijjutti*, 191 (189 π B. 190 P) vv., equivalent to the third ajjh. of Har. Stands alone in Peterson's Palm-leaf No. 77a. From v. 36 on there is a dialogue between guru and chô°, chôdaka, see above p. 34. After v. 176 we read in the text: atra sûtram, and Har. quotes a text which begins with the words ichhâmî khamâsamañî vamdiü.

13. *pañikkamananijjutti*, 54 (52 PB, 51 π) vv. Chap. 13—18, which correspond to the fourth ajjh. of Haribh., presuppose a [70] pratikramanâsûtram<sup>73</sup> given by him in full in sections. These chapters form a species of running commentary to each of the sections of the pratik. Chap. 14, 15 take up one section each, chap. 17 two, chap. 13, 16 contain the explanation of several sections. The sections explained in chap. 13 read: — pañikkamâmî êgavihê asaïjamî . . . p. dôhiü bañdhâñehîü, p. tihîü dañdêhîü, p. chaühiü jjhâñehîü. The entire following chapter is an explanation of the latter sentence. In π a dharmajjhânam of 69 vv. precedes these sections commented upon in chapter 13.

14. *jhâñasayaü, dhyânaśatakam*, 106 vv. The last verse (106) which is omitted by Haribhada, mentions only 105 vv., and states that Jîgabhadda is the author of this cento<sup>74</sup>: pañchuttarêna, gâhâ-sâñha jjhâñasayaü samuddittham | Jîgabhaddakhamâsamañêhi kammañâhi-karaü jañô || 106 ||. It had originally, as at present (see Peterson's Palm-leaf 77a 161b), a quite independent position and was later on inserted here. This is clear from the fact that the beginning contains a special salutation, which is usual only in the case of independent texts: — Vîram sukkajjhâñag-gidâñdhakammiñdhayam pañcainiñpam | jôisaram sarannaü, jhâñajjhayaü pavakkhâmi || 1 || Haribh. cites this dhyânaśatakam just as he usually cites his [71] kathânakâ:ayaü dhyânaśamâsârthah, vyâsârthas tu dhyânaśatakâd avaséyah, tach chê 'dâm dhyânaśatakam asya mahârthatvâd vastunâl sâstrântaratavât (! this is plain; we should have expected °tvâch cha) prârûñbha èva vighnavinâyakôpâśâmtayê mañgalârtham ishtâdevatânamaskâram âha: Vîram . . . The explanation concludes (omitting verse 106) with the words: — samâptâm dhyânaśatakam, and the commentator proceeds with his explanation of the pratikramanâsûtram: pañikkamâmî pañchahîü kiriyâhiü, again having recourse thereby to the pâritjhâvanîyaniyyutti.

15. *pâritjhâvanî*, 151 (152 P, 153 π B) vv. Begins: pâritjhâvanîyaihiü | buchhâmi dhîrapurisapannattaiü | jañ nâñna suvihiâ pavayanasâram uvalahañti || 1 || This chapter, too, gives me the impression of having originally enjoyed a separate existence. Nevertheless it is closely connected with chapter 18, since they both share this form of introduction. It is also noticeable that the same verse recurs with tolerable similarity in 20, 9; from which we may conclude that chapters 16, 18, 20 were composed by one author. Haribh. in this chapter omits or leaves a large number of verses unexplained; and beginning with v. 79. His commentary is partially composed in Prâkfit, probably taken from the old bhâshya (see p. 52). After the conclusion: — paristhâpanikâ samâptâ, he proceeds to cite and explain the sûtram: pañikkamâmî chhahîü jîvañkâhiü. In π there is an additional chapter lêshâ, with 13 vv., inserted between the conclusion and explanation.

16. *pañikkamanasâñghayanî, pratikramanâsâñgrahani*, 133 (80 P π B) vv. The verses, which are not found in [72] B,<sup>75</sup> are cited in full by Haribh. as a part of his commentary.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> It begins ichhâmî pañikkamî . . . ; it is in prose and different from the śrâddha- or śrâvaka-pratikramanâsûtra, whose 50 gâthâs, divided into 5 adhikâras, were commented in Sañvat 1496 (A. D. 1440) by Ratnaśâkhara from the Tapâgachha (No. 52 in Klatt). In Peterson's Palm-leaf MSS. there are two other similar texts, a pratikramanâsûtram 86e, 83c (where it is called atichâraprat<sup>77</sup>) and a pratikramanâsûtram 154a (see p. 125b), which is different from the first.

<sup>74</sup> He appears in Ratnaśâkhara as the author of a viśeshâvâsyaka. See preceding note.

<sup>75</sup> ππ also presumably do not contain the verses: A 18-30, 32-43, 50-64, 68-80.

<sup>76</sup> On one occasion he calls these verses (vv. 50—64) niryuktigâthâs of the sâtrâkrit (!), by which the sâtrâkrit (!), is said to explain the two preceding verses (48, 49) of the sañgrahapânikâra! See above p. 54n3.

The verses which A B have in common, are cited by him here, not as verses of the *niryuktikṛit*, but as a part of the *sāingrahaṇikāra*. In these chapters we find explanations and enumerations of the contents of sections 6—31 of the *pratikramāṇasūtram*. Each group of verses is explained under its proper section. Chapters 14 and 15, however, belong to but one section. The following is treated of: 6 *jīvanikāa*, 7 *bhayaṭṭhāṇa* (v. 14), 8 *mayaṭṭhāṇa* (v. 14<sup>b</sup>), 9 *bambhachēragutti* (v. 15), the 10-fold *samanadhamma* (v. 16), 11 *nvāsagapāḍimā* (v. 17), 12 *bhikkhupāḍimā* (v. 31), 13 *kiriyāṭṭhāṇa* (v. 44), 14 *bhūyagāma* (v. 45), 15 *paramāhammīa* (vv. 48, 49), 16 *gāhāsōlāsa* (vv. 65, 66), the 17-fold *sāmījama* (v. 67), the 18-fold *abāmībha* (v. 81), 19 *nāyajjhayaṇa* (vv. 82, 83), 20 *asamāhīṭṭhāṇa* (vv. 84—86), 21 *sabala* (*śabala* v. 87),<sup>77</sup> 22 *parīṣaha* (v. 100), 23 *suttagadājjhayaṇa* (v. 102), 24 *dēva* (v. 103), 25 *bhāvayaṇa* (v. 104), 26 *dasā-kappavavahārāṇa* *nddēsaṇākāla* (v. 109), the 27-fold *anagārācharītta* (v. 110), the 28-fold *āyārapakappa* (v. 112), 29 *pāvāsutaṇāpāsāṅga* (v. 115), 30 *mōhaniyyāṭṭhāṇa* (v. 117) and 31 *siddhāiguṇa* (v. 132). We find herein enumerations of the 23 chapters of *aṅga* 2 (in two groups, one of 16, the other of 7; [73] see above p. 260), of the 19 chapters of the first part of *aṅga* 6, of the 26 chapters of the three *chhēdāsūtras* 3—5, and of the 28 chapters of *aṅga* 1.

17. *jōgasāmīgaha-āsāyaṇā*, *āsātānā*; 64 vv.; in A counted continuously in conjunction with chapter 16, *i.e.* as vv. 134—197. In *PπB*, however, it is divided into two chapters: *jōgasāmīgaha* of 60, and *āsāyaṇā* of 5 (4  $\pi$ ) vv. It contains the vouchers for and examples (*ndāharaṇāgāthā*) of the 32 *jōgasāmīgahas* (to v. 193) and 33 *āsāyaṇās*,<sup>78</sup> *āsātānās* (v. 194—197), which are mentioned in the last two sections of the *pratikramāṇasūtram*. The *pratikramāṇasāmīgrahaṇī* (*pr<sup>o</sup>ṇī samāptā*) ended here according to *Haribh.* But with the words *sāmīprataṁ sūtrōktā ēva* *trayastrīśad* *vyākhyāyāmītē* . . . *Haribh.* comes back to the explanation of v. 197. These verses contain principally matters of legendary and historical purport, and consist chiefly of proper names and of some catch-words. *Haribhadra* cites very detailed *kathānakas* on them composed in *Prākṛit*, from which the meaning of the verses is to be extracted (*svabuddhyā* 'vasēyah'); but he does not enter upon the explanation of the text of each of the verses, or even of the *kathānakas* cited by him. It is very interesting that *Thūlabhadda* is here brought into connection with the (ninth, *Haribh.*) *Nanda*, and with *Sagadālā* and *Vararuchi* (v. 144, cf. the statements in *Hēmach.*'s *parīśishṭāparvan* 8,3 fg.). The same may be said of the mention of *Sālavāvāhāṇa* in *Pāiṭṭhāṇa* (v. 164; *Vikramāditya* is, however, not noticed), and of the identification, in all essentials, of all these and similar [74] names<sup>79</sup> with the names of king *Dummūha* of *Pāmēhāla*, of *Namī* of *Vidēha*, *Naggāi* of *Gāmīdhāra* (v. 172), and with the *Pāmēdāvavaṇīsa* (v. 161)! As far as the legends admit of being comprehended (which is no easy matter, if we take into consideration the enigmatical character of the text and the corrupt condition of the MS. of the commentary), they are in only partial agreement with our information in respect to these persons obtained from Brahminical sources. The information they convey, is quite independent of any other source, and is probably the result of their arbitrary desire for change. It is of interest that the *gāthā* (v. 188), cited pp. 158, 159, which is quite in keeping with the character of the verses of *Hāla*, is here inserted in the legend of two prostitutes (*Magahasūmīdarī* and *Magahasirī*).

18. *asajjhāiyanijjutṭi, asvādhyāyīka*<sup>o</sup>, 111 (*Pπ*, 110 B) vv. Begins<sup>80</sup>: *asajjhāiyanijjuttiṁ buchchhāmī dhīrapurisapānattām* | *jaṁ nānūṇa suvīhiā pavayāṇasātām* *uvalabhaṇītī* || || *asajjhāiām* *tu duvīhaṁ* *āyasamutthaīn* *cha* *parasamutthaīn* *cha* | *jaṁ tattha* *parasamutthaīn* *tām* *pāiñ-*

<sup>77</sup> On vv. 87—96 we read here: *āsāmī vyākhyā* . . ., *ayaṁ* *cha* *sāmīśārthāḥ*, *vyāsārthas* *tu* *daśākhyād* *grām-* *thāmītarād* *avasīya* *ēvam* (*ēva*), *asamīhārthām* *daśānusārēṇa* *sabalaśvarūpam* *abhibhītām*, *sāmīgrahaṇīkāras* *tu* *ēvam* *āha*: *varisau* (v. 97). The fourth *chhēdāsūtram* (or its second book, see p. 468) is meant by the *daśākhyā* *grāmī* mentioned here.

<sup>78</sup> Explained by *āyāl* (!) *samyagdārśanādīyavāptilakshāṇas*, *tasyā* *śātānālī* *khaṇḍānā* *āśātānās* . . .; as if the word was *āyāsāyāṇa* (or *āyā<sup>o</sup>?*).

<sup>79</sup> As for example *Vijāa* in *Bharuachha* v. 189, *Muṇīmbaga*, *Ajja* *Pussābhūi*, *Pūsamitta* in *Sambavaddhaṇa* v. 190.

<sup>80</sup> Verse 1 is omitted by *Haribh.*

chavihai tu nāyavvaiñ ॥ 2 ॥ Closes : asajjhāianijjuttī kahiā bhē dhīrapnrisapannattā | saṁjama-tavaḍḍhagāñaiñ | niggainthāñaiñ mahārisīñaiñ ॥ 10 ॥ This chapter, too, appears to have originally existed by itself (see above p. 71, on chapter 15). It refers to certain faults in the study and recitation of the śruti, which are enumerated at the conclusion of the 33 āśāyañās; but special reference is made to the cases in which akālē kaō sajjhāō, etc. The pratikramāñasūtram consequently is joined on in Haribh. as follows : nama chaūvīsāt titthayarāñam Usabhāi-Māhavīrapayyavasāññaiñ, . . iñam ēva niggainthañ pāvayañam savvam aṇuttaram ity-ādi, . . nēñuñam (naiyāyikam) [75] ti saṁsuddhañ ti, sallakattañaiñ ti, siddhimaggam muttimaggam nejjāmaggam nevvāññimaggam ti, ichhāmi paḍikkamīñ gōyarachariyāē ity-ādi.

19. kaussagganijj., 172 vv., fifth ajjh. in Har.

20. pachchakkhāñanijjuttī corresponds to the sixth ajjh. in Haribh., and consist of three parts : — 1. A metrical section in 22 (26 B) vv., with an enumeration of the 5 mūlagāñās,<sup>81</sup> 2. A prose portion treating of the 12 vratas (5 anuvr., 3 guṇavr., 4 śikshāpadvr.). Haribhadra calls its sections sūtram; this is doubtless to be regarded as a bit of the sūtram, which is presupposed in the other chapters, but not directly admitted into the text of the Nijj. 3. A metrical conclusion of 74 (70 B) vv., which closes with the same two verses as chapter 10. There are 194 vv. verses in all given in P, but in π only 90. It stands alone in Peterson's Palm-leaf 77<sup>e</sup> (without statement as to the number of verses) and 86g (94 vv.). — The prose part (nominative in ē !) is directed with great vigour against the annaūtthiyas (anyatīrthika) and against the parapāsāñḍapasāñsās, or the parapāsāñḍasañthavas. According to Haribhadra, the Brahminical sects<sup>82</sup> Bhantika and Vōṭika (Digambara, see above p. 67) are treated of under annaū<sup>o</sup>. The 363 doctrines attacked in aṅga 2 are referred to under parapāsāñḍa. See p. 259.<sup>83</sup> According to H. there is no mention here of the seven schisms. [76] He mentions also a legend (in Prākrit) of Chāṇakka and Chāndagutta in Pādaliputta. Cf. Hēmach. pariś. chap. 8 and 9).

Besides the Nijjuttī I possess a fragment of a second metrical treatment of the āvīyaka, which is, however, confined to vaīḍaṇa and pachchakkhāṇa. The former is divided into two sections, chaityavaīḍana and guru<sup>o</sup>. The text is only partially based upon the Nijjuttī. There is an avachūri (chūrñi) to it from the commentary of a Sōmasuīndara (from the Chandra-gachha). This avachūri can be traced back to a Jñānāsāgara.

[77] XLV. The third mūlasūtram, dasavēāliasuakkhañdha, daśavaikālika, or merely : dasāñlī,<sup>84</sup> daśakālika. It consists of ten ajjhayañās, which are composed in ślōkas, with the exception of a few prose sections. There are furthermore two chapters called chūlā (and hence

<sup>81</sup> pāṇivaha musāvād adatta mēhuna parigghāt chēva . || 8 || sāvayadhammassa vihiñ buchhchāmi dhīrapu-risapannattaiñ | jañ chariñuñ suvihūñ gīñiñ vi suhāñ pāvamti || 9 || On this verse see p. 71 on chap. 15.

<sup>82</sup> anyatīrthikaparigṛihitāñ vā chaityāñi arhatpratimālakṣaṇāni, yathā Bhautaparigṛihitāñ Vīrabhadra-Mahākālādīni, Vōṭika-parigṛihitāñ vā.

<sup>83</sup> Dr. Leumann called my attention to the fact that a letter of Schieffner to me dated Dec. 1857 — see *Ind-Stud.* 4, 335 — contains the following statement extracted from the introduction of a Thibetan work edited by Wassiljew: “there are 363 different schisms in the religion of India.” Since I found nothing of the kind in the introduction of Tārānātha, which was doubtless referred to here, I had recourse to Wassiljew himself. On the 8th of October 1883, I received from him the following kind reply : — “I cannot inform you definitely in which of my works 363 Indian schools are mentioned, if at all; but it is certain that this number is frequently mentioned in Thibetan works. In Djandja Vatuktu’s Siddhānta, which I have at present before me, I find the following: ‘In the sūtras are mentioned 96 darsana papantika[?], 14 dijakrita muluni[?], 62 injurious darsana, 28 which do not permit salvation, and 20 which are ruinous.’ In Bhāṇīa’s work Tarkādīvala all the darsanas are enumerated in 110 species, ‘viz. . .’ According to my hasty count there are more than 120 names, probably because the same school is mentioned twice, *i. e.* in Sanskrit and Thibetan. And at the end, after mention of all 110(—120) species, we read: — *in all 363 darsanas*. As regards the names of these darsanas, it is too difficult for me to translate them into Russian and *à fortiori* into German, though, should you desire it, I will attempt it as best I may be able.” I did not consider it necessary to have recourse again to Wassiljew’s kindness, since, for the purpose in view, his communication was amply sufficient. It is clear from the above, compared with p. 259, that it will be difficult to expect complete agreement in detail; nevertheless the fact that the number of 363 darsanas is common to the Jains with the Thibetan Buddhists, is of great value.

<sup>84</sup> Thus in Av. nijj. 2, 5, and in the Vidhiprapā.

secondary<sup>85</sup>) of similar contents. These are in gâthâs. After them follow four gâthâs, in which Sijjainbhava, according to the old thérâvalî (Nandi, Kalpas.) the fourth patriarch after Mahâvîra, is stated to be the author ;<sup>86</sup> but his son Ajja-Maṇaga and his pupil Jasabhadda<sup>87</sup> are mentioned in connection with him. This is indeed a claim of great antiquity for the author!

The contents refers to the viñâya, and is clothed in a very ancient dress. That this is the case is proved by the close of a chapter : *ti bêmi* (also in the case of the two chûlâs !) and by the introduction : *suaṁ mē āusain* in the prose sections (with the exception of that in chûla 1.). The dasavâliam, (see p. 11) is mentioned in the Nandi as being in the forefront of the ukkâliya group of the anaṅgapavîṭṭha texts; its position here, however, almost at the end, does not agree with the prominent place ascribed to it by N. It appears elsewhere as the last or smallest of the âgama (if I understand the words correctly; the preceding leaf is wanting in the Berlin MS. — see p. 214) in Hêmach. [78] in the pariśishtâp. 9, 99, and in the commentary on Nêmichandra's pravachanasîra, v. 1445, where Duliprasaha, the last of the 2004 sûris which Nêmich. accepts, is designated as *daśavaikâlikamâtrasûtradharô 'pi chaturdaśipûrvadvadharâ iva śakra-pûjyah*. The author of the Āvaśy. nijj. asserts (2,5) that he composed a nijjutti on it. A MS. of a nijjutti which recognizes the chûliyâ is found in Peterson's Palm-leaf 167. Is it the work referred to ? The word *veśilam* is said here to mean about the same as *vaikâlikam*, “belonging to the evening” (*vikâlê 'parâhñê*).<sup>88</sup>

1. *dumapupphâ, drumupshpikâ*, 5 vv. Comparison of the dhamma with a flowering tree. Cf. aṅga 2, 2, 1. *uttarajjh.* chap. 10.

2. *sîmânnapuvva, śrâmavîyapûrvikâ*, 11 vv. Of firmness, *dhṛiti*.

3. *kuḍḍâiyârâ, kshullikâchâra*, 15 vv.; *sû dhritir âchârê vidhêyâ*.

4. *chajjîvaniyajjh.*,<sup>89</sup> *shadjîvanikhâdhy.*, *i. e.* doubtless *nikâyajjh.*; see above, pp. 71, 72. In two chapters, the first of which, in prose, begins *suaṁ mē . . .* and treats of the 6 grades of the four elements (earth, water, light, air), plants (*vaṇasai*) and insects (*tasa*); and of the 5 mahavayas to be observed in reference to them. To these five a sixth, the *râibhôanâu verimâṇim* (command against eating at night), is added. Chapter 2, in 29 vv., treats of the six forms of activity (walking, standing, sitting, lying, eating, speaking) necessary for these 6 mahav.

5. *pîmâṣapâ*, in 2 uddêśakas, with 100 and 50 vv., *bhikshâśôdhil*, of the collection of the necessities of life and of rules for eating ; see aṅga 1, 2, 1. To this is joined, [79] according to the *Vidhiprapâ*, the *piṇḍanijjutti* (*mûlas.* 4); *ittha piṭṭî ôyaraī* (*ōṇa* in v. 7 of the *jôgavihâna*).

6. *dharmîrthakâmajjhayaṇam*, also *mâhîchârakathâkhyam*; in 69 vv. — This trivarga (*tivaggô* also in the *Abhidhâṇapadâpikâ*) which plays so important a rôle in epic literature (MBhîr., Rîmîy. Manu) is not known to the Vêda. Among the Jains and Buddhists, by whom dharma and artha are often brought into connection, though in quite a different signification (*artha sense, explanation*), the trivarga does not claim any place whatsoever. It is probable that we must connect it with the three guṇas : sattva, rajas and tamas. But in that case artha would respond to rajas, kâma to tamas, though kâma suits rajas much better. Has the Platonic trinity *καλὸν, ὄφελον, ἡδὸν*, which is Cicero's *honestum, utile, dulce*, wandered to India ?

7. *vakkasuddhi, vâkyâsuddhi*, 57 vv.

8. *âyârapaṇîhi, âchârapraṇidhi*, 64 vv.

<sup>85</sup> This is evident from the title *dasakâliaṁ* itself. At the time that the four gâthâs were added at the end, these two chûlâs had not yet been affixed, since the text in v. 1 is called, as one might expect from its title, merely *dasajjhayaṇam*.

<sup>86</sup> According to v. 37 of the *kâlasattarî* it was composed in the year 98 Vîra.

<sup>87</sup> These three names recur in the same connection in the thérâv. of the Kalpas. Jasabhadda is also in the Nandi the fifth successor of Vîra.

<sup>88</sup> In aṅga 2 the word means *vaidârikam*; in pâinna 5 the meaning is not clear.

<sup>89</sup> *dharmapâṇnatti vâ*, in the *Vidhiprapâ*.

9. *vinayasamâhi*, <sup>°</sup>*samâdhi*, in 4 *uddêśakas*, of which the first three in metre, in 17, 23 and 15 vv., treat of the correct *vinaya*, especially in reference to the *guru*. The fourth is in prose with the introduction *suaṁ mē . . .*, and establishes four fixed categories of the correct *vinaya*.

10. *sa bhikkhu-ajjhayaṇam*, in 21 vv. All the verses end, as in *Uttarajjh.* chap. 15, with the refrain *sa bhikkhû*, and consequently enumerate the requirements made of a correct *bh.*, who desires to live in accordance with the regulations contained in the preceding 9 chapters.

11. *raivakka chûlâ padhamâ, rativâkyâ*, in two sections. The first in prose, without the introduction *suaṁ* [80] *mē . . .*, enumerates 18 *thâgas* which the *bhikkhu* must take and fulfil in order gradually to acquire *mukkha*. The second, in 18 vv., partly with the refrain : *sa pachchhâ paritappai*, emphasizes especially the obstacles to this quest and serves *sîdatêh sthîrikaraṇâya*.

12. *chûla* 2 without any special title (also in the *Vidhiprapâ* merely *chûliyâ*) in 16 vv., describes the correct course of action of the man of firmness.

The conclusion is formed by the 4 *gâthâs* in reference to *Sijjambhava*, which have already been referred to. These *gâthâs* are probably of later date. The work is called in v. 1 *dasakâliam* (as in *Āv.* nijj. 2, <sup>5</sup>, and in the *Vidhiprapâ*) and also *dasajjhayaṇam*; so that verse 1 at least dates from a period in which the two *chûlâs* had not been added (see p. 77<sup>n2</sup>).

The text is frequently doubtful in the two Berlin MSS. The commentary calls itself an *avachûri* of the *vîhadvîrtti* of *Haribhadrasûri*.<sup>90</sup> Another *avachûri*, in *bhâshâ*, is the work of a *Râjahaṁsôpâdhyâya*. A *laghuvîrtti* too is ascribed to *Haribhadra*. See p. 458.

## FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S.

No. 3.—*How Eve rescued the Prince.*<sup>1</sup>

There was once a **king**, who dearly loved his queen, and she too loved him exceedingly. One day the king went to hunt, and met in the jungle a most beautiful woman. He fell in love with her and brought her home; soon she got his heart in her power, and one day she said “**I will live with you only on this condition, that you get rid of your first queen.**” The king was grieved, but he was in her power, and he searched for a cause to discard the queen; but she was so good that he could find no fault in her.

One evening he challenged her to play chess and said, “**This shall be the stake. If before the game is finished a jackal howls, I will take my new queen and leave my kingdom: but if a donkey brays, then you must go away.**” This was agreed on; before the game was over the jackal howled. The king said, “Lady, you have won. To-morrow I will make over my kingdom to you and depart.” At this her heart was nearly broken, and, not wishing to distress her husband, she replied: “No, king, it was a donkey that brayed. I will leave early to-morrow.” The king said, “No, it was a jackal that howled.” On this they began to argue, and the king said, “Let us ask the sentry whether it was a jackal or a donkey.”

So the queen went to the sentry and said:—“Was it the cry of a jackal or a donkey you heard just now?” “Mistress,” he replied, “it was the howl of a jackal.” The queen replied: “The king and I have sworn an oath about this. If you say it was a jackal, the king must leave his kingdom. How can I defend it against our enemies? Then all you people will be killed and your children will die of hunger. You must say it was a donkey that brayed.” The sentry agreed, and the queen came back to the king and said: “The sentry says it was a donkey

<sup>90</sup> *Ratnâśâkhara* (on *Pratikramanâśûtra*) cites this *vrtti* frequently; likewise the *Viehârâmpitasamgraha* quotes *e. g.* the following verse from it (or from the *nijj.?*): *tiththayaratthâṇam khalu atthô, suttâṇ tu gaṇahara-thâṇam* (see p. 60) | *atthêna ya vâñjijâṇa suttâṇ tamhâ ya sô balavaṇi* ||

<sup>1</sup> A folktale recorded by E. David, a Native Christian of Mirzâpur, from the lips of Mahtâbô, a cook-woman, and literally translated.

that brayed." "You lie," said the king, "I will go and ask him myself." When the king asked the sentry he made the same answer. So the king came back and said to the queen:—"You must leave this to-morrow morning."

Next morning the queen went off in her litter and at last reached a jungle. Through excess of grief she had not slept a wink the whole night, and was so tired that she fell asleep in the litter. Then the bearers, seeing night coming and in dread of the wild animals, quietly put the litter on the ground and ran away. When the queen awoke, finding herself alone and hearing the roaring of the wild beasts, she trembled and closed the doors of the litter. As night advanced tigers, bears and wolves roared all round her, and she lay inside trembling with fear.

When morning broke all the beasts of the forest went back to their dens, and she got up and prayed to God to appoint her some place where she could live in quiet, and get bread and water for her support. The Lord heard her prayers, and when she got out of the litter she saw a house inside a dense thicket. Going there she found that it had only a single door, which was locked. Looking about she saw the key hanging on a peg. When she opened the door, she went in and found a lot of property lying scattered about. So she locked the door thinking "the house may belong to some demon (*dêô*), and if he sees me he will kill me."

When evening came a *fauqîr*, to whom the house belonged, arrived and found the door locked. He knocked and said: "Open the door. Who has dared to shut up my house?" The queen made no answer, and did not open the door. When he got tired of knocking, the *fauqîr* said: "Whether you are a *jinn*, or a *parî*, or a *dêô*, or a human being, open the door, and I won't hurt you." Then the queen told him the whole story and said: "Promise that we shall live as father and daughter; then I will open the door." So the *fauqîr* made the promise and said: "I will give you half of all I get by begging." The queen then opened the door, the *fauqîr* went in, and they lived there for some time happily.

Now when the queen left home she was with child, and after some time gave birth to a son, who was very beautiful. When the boy was three or four years old, one day the queen took him to bathe on the sea shore. As she was bathing him a merchant's ship appeared, and when the merchant saw the queen, he desired to take her with him. But she refused. Then the merchant secretly showed the boy some sweetmeats and the boy ran up to him. The merchant seized him and put him into the ship, and loosed it from the shore. Seeing this the queen wept violently and implored him to give back her son. The merchant said: "I will restore him only on condition that you come with me." When the queen saw that he would not restore the child and was taking him off, through affection for the boy she agreed to go: but when the merchant desired to take her to wife she refused. The merchant thought that if he killed the child she would marry him, so after going some distance he stopped the ship, and with a pretence of great affection took the boy with him and pitched him into a well. When he returned to the ship the queen asked where her child was; he said: "I don't know. I took him a short way with me, but he turned back to you, and now I can wait here no longer." The queen was sure he had killed her son, and began to weep and bewail.

Now the fairies lived in the well into which the little prince had been thrown. They took him up in their arms and carried him quietly to their house. For two or three days the boy was quite happy, but then he began to cry and wanted to go back to his mother. But the fairies warned him, — "Don't go there, for the merchant will kill you." But he would not mind them. Then the fairies gave him two sticks, one white and the other black, and said: "When you smell the black stick you will become white as a leper, and when again you smell the white one you will get all right. So when you see your mother's ship, smell the black stick. If you don't, the merchant will take your life."

The moment the young prince got out of the well he ran in the direction where the ship had gone. The merchant from a distance saw him through his telescope (!) and recognised him. Then he got off the ship, took a sword and cut off his head, and then went on board again.

When night fell the prince was so lovely that light streamed from his face. By chance that night **Father Adam** and **Eve** (*Bábá Ádam, Hawwá*) were flying towards that jungle. Eve looked down, and when she saw the light that came from his face, she said to Adam: "What light is this? Let us go and see." Adam replied: "This is the world, and it is sometimes light and sometimes dark; come along." Eve said: "No! I must see this light." So they both flew down, and when she saw the boy, **Eve took great pity on him, and cutting her finger let a couple of drops of blood fall on his head and trunk; then the boy came to life again.** Then Eve said to him: "Smell the black stick; if you don't perhaps the merchant will see you again and kill you." So the boy smelled the stick and became white as a leper and went off in search of his mother.

So at last he reached the land where his mother was, and **the king of that land had a great love of hearing stories.** Begging his way along the boy reached the king's palace, and the people said to him: "Lad, do you know any tales? If you can tell him a story the king will be much pleased and give you a reward." The boy said, "Yes! I do know a story; if the king hears it he will be delighted." The people gave him something to eat and entertained him kindly till the evening; and when it was night the king sat in his place and beside him sat the merchant; the king's wife, and the merchant's wife, and the boy's mother and several wives of the lords sat behind seven screens, and the boy was brought forward.

So he began to tell his mother's story and his own — how his mother was married, and how his father had turned her away, and how his mother bore sorrow in the jungle and how she came to the *faqir*, and how he was born, and how the merchant deceived his mother and threw him into the well, and how he got out of it, and how the merchant had killed him, and how he came to life, and how he changed his form by smelling the stick.

And as he went on telling the story his mother's heart became the more affected, and at last she said: "Bravo! boy! you have well said! Raise one of the screens." And by the time the boy had finished the tale all the seven screens had been raised. At last the prince said:—"I am the boy," and his mother said: "Smell the other stick." He did so and came to his own shape, and his mother fell on his neck and wept, and said:—"I never hoped to see you again." Then the king rose from his place and embraced them both; for, of course, he was the prince's father; and he turned out his wicked queen, and had the merchant executed, and he and his queen and the prince lived happily ever after.

## MISCELLANEA.

## TWO FURTHER PANDYA DATES.

## No. 1.

In continuation of a note which appeared in the April part of this *Journal* (*ante*, p. 121 f.) I subjoin another date which deserves to be calculated by an expert. For an impression of the record which contains the date, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, I. C. S. The original is stated to be inscribed on the second *gopura* of the Saiva temple at *Tirukkalukkunram*, "the sacred hill of the kites," or *Pakshitirtha*,<sup>1</sup> in the Chingleput district.

1 *Svasti Samasta-jagad-âdhâra Sômakula-tilaka Madhurâpurî-Mâdhava Kérala-vaiñâni[rnumu]lana Laiñkâdvipa-luñtana-dvitiyâ-*

<sup>1</sup> On the legends connected with this village see *ante*, Vol. X. p. 198 f. Mr. Venkayya has published three inscriptions from *Tirukkalukkunram* in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for October 1890 and April 1892.

Râma Chôlakula-śaila-kuliśa Kârññâtarâja-vidrâ-vâya Kâthaka(ka)-kari-kûṭapâka[la] vividha-ripudurgga-marddana Vîra-Kan̄ta-Kôpâla-vipina-dâ-

2 vadahana Kâñchî-puravar-âdhîśvara-Gaṇapati-hariṇâ-sârddhûla Nellûrapura-(vi)virachita-vîr[â\*]bhishêka pra[na]ta-râja-pratishthâpaka<sup>2</sup> mahârâjâdhî(r)a)râja-paramâśvara Tribhuvana-chakrava[r]ttiga[1] śrî-Sundara-Pâñdiyâdêvâkku yâ[n]du 9âvadu Ishava-nâ[ya]rru pûrvva-pakshattu pañchamiy[u]m Se[v\*]vâykkila-

3 maiyum perra Punarpûsattu nâl.

"In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâñdyadêva, etc.,<sup>3</sup> — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) *Punarvasu*, which corresponded to Tues-

<sup>2</sup> Read *pratishthâpaka*.

<sup>3</sup> The translation of the Sanskrit *birudas* is omitted, as they are the same as *ante*, p. 121.

day, the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The above inscription must belong to the same reign as the *Jambukēśvara* inscription of *Jatāvarman*, alias *Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva*,<sup>4</sup> because the same *birudas* are applied to the king in both. A third date of a king *Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva* who bore the surname *Jatāvarman*, appears to be contained in an inscription at *Vikkiramaṅgalam* in the Madura district.<sup>5</sup> But I am unable to vouch for the correctness of the published transcript, as I have no impressions at hand.

#### NO. 2.

The following date occurs at the beginning of an inscription on the East wall of the second *prdkāra* of the *Rāṅganātha* temple at Śrīraṅgam near Trichinopoly.

1 . . . . . Sri-kō-Mārapaṇmar-āṇa  
Tribhuvaṇachchakkaravatt[i]gal Sōṇāḍu  
valaṅgi aruliya śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadē-  
var[k\*]ku yāṇdu onbadāvadu

2 Mēsha-nāyāṛru apara-pakshattu tritiyai-  
yum Velli-kiḍamaiyum perga Viśāgattu nāl.

"In the ninth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman, alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Sundara-Pāṇḍya*-dēva, who was pleased to distribute the *Chōla* country (among *Brāhmaṇas*), — on the day of (the *nakshatra*) Viśākhā, which corresponded to Friday, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The *Sundara-Pāṇḍya* of this inscription calls himself Māravarman, while that of the *Jambukēśvara* inscription bore the surname *Jatāvarman*. Accordingly, the two kings must be considered as distinct from each other. To the reign of Māravarman belongs the *Tirupparaṇkunram* cave-inscription, which is dated "on the three-hundred-and-twenty-fifth day of the seventh year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman, alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva*, who was pleased to distribute the *Chōla* country,"<sup>6</sup> and the smaller *Tiruppūvanam* grant, which is dated in the eleventh year, and refers to the tenth year, of "Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who distributed the *Chōla* country."<sup>7</sup>

E. HULTZSCH.

#### NOTES AND QUERIES.

##### 'NO' AS A WORD OF ILL-OMEN IN BENGAL.

Mr. K. Srikanṭaliyār, *ante*, p. 93, mentions that 'No' is a word of ill-omen among the Kēmaṭis in Southern India. In certain circumstances it is equally so in Bengal. No one will admit that there is no rice in the house, for fear of offending Annapūrnā, the goddess of the Corn and also of the Kitchen. The fact of the rice having

run short is intimated by saying with significance 'the rice has increased' (*badantā*). Annapūrnā is represented by the rice in the house, and in her hands the rice-ladle should never fail to supply all guests, however numerous. In this way she is peculiarly the symbol of Hindu hospitality.

Calcutta.

GAURDAS BYSACK.

#### BOOK-NOTICE.

COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA from the Earliest Times down to the Seventh Century A. D., by MAJOR-GENERAL SIR A. CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., R.E., London, B. Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly. 1891. Octavo, pp. ix. and 118, with 13 autotype plates, and a Map.

This work of Sir A. Cunningham is the first book which deals systematically with the coins of Ancient Northern India as a whole, and is thus assured of a warm welcome from all Indian coin collectors and numismatists. The richness of the author's cabinet and his unrivalled experience necessarily bestow on the book a distinctive value which could not be given to a work on the same subject by any other writer.

The preface and the first forty-one pages of the treatise deal with metrology, the origin of coinage, and the Indian alphabets. In this part of his book the author reiterates many of the opinions on matters in dispute which he has frequently expressed in his other publications. Some of the positions maintained by him are open to attack, but for the present I pass these by, and proceed to consider the seventy-seven pages which describe the coins of ancient India.

The well-known coins of the Satraps of Surāshṭra and of the Gupta dynasty are not discussed by the author, as they have recently been

has Sri-kō-Mārapaṇmar-āṇa Tribhuvaṇachchakkaravatt[i]gal Sōṇāḍu valaṅgiy-aruliya śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarku yāṇdu ḥāvadu nāl muṇṇāṛṛ-irubatt-añjīṇil.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of śeraṇālu alaṅkanar Sundara-pāṇḍiyadēvarku yāṇdu 11vadu (*ibid.* p. 37, reverse of the Plate, l. 1), the facsimile (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 143) reads Sōṇāḍu valaṅgiṇa Sundara-pāṇḍiyadēvarku yāṇdu [pa]tt[āva]du.

<sup>4</sup> *ante*, p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Burgess' *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. pp. 18-20.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Natēśa Śāstrī (*ibid.* p. 45, text lines 48 ff.) reads: Sri Kōmārapaṇmārap Tribhuvaṇachakrarattīga! Śeraṇāḍu-valaṅgi=yaruliya Sri Sundaravarumadēvarku yāṇdu ślāvadu nāl muṇṇāṛṛ-irupatt-andīṇil, while the original

fully described in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* by the late Paññit Bhagwanlal, Mr. E. J. Rapson, and the writer of this notice. In a second volume Sir A. Cunningham hopes to deal with the coins of Mediæval India from A. D. 600 down to the Muhammadan conquest, including the coinages of (1) the Rājās of Kaśmīr, (2) the Shāhīs of Gandhāra, (3) the Kalachuris of Chēdi, (4) the Chandellas of Mahōba, (5) the Tōmaras of Delhi, (6) the Chauhāns of Ajmir, (7) the later coins of the Sisōdiyas of Mēwār, and (8) those of the Pundīrs of Kāngārā.

This is an extensive programme, and all numismatists will anxiously expect the promised volume.

The early punch-marked and cast coins form the first group described in the volume under review, but the section expressly dealing with them is not exhaustive, many punch-marked and cast coins being dealt with in other parts of the book. It is a great pity that Sir A. Cunningham did not prepare an index; for, small though his treatise is, it is full of matter, and an attentive reader finds it very troublesome to be compelled to note for himself all the cross references which require to be made.

Notes of time, marking more or less closely the date of punch-marked coins, are rare. The author records two of interest. On the authority of the late Sir E. C. Bayley he observes that a few *much worn* specimens of the punch-marked class were found in company with hemidrachms of Antimachus II., Philoxenus, Lysias, Antikidas, and Menander.

The second note of time is afforded by the fact that three worn silver punch-marked coins, weighing respectively 34, 35, and 42 grains were found "in the deposit at the foot of the Vajrāsan, or throne of Buddha, in the temple of Mahābōdhi at Buddha Gayā. As this deposit was made about A. D. 150, during the reign of the Indo-Seythian king Huvishka, we learn that punch-marked coins were still in circulation at that time." This inference nobody will dispute, and coins of the kind may have continued to circulate much later in some parts of the country. The issues of Gupta silver coins did not begin before A. D. 400, and it is probable that the silver punch-marked coins remained in circulation up to that date in Northern India, and possibly even later. But I cannot accept the argument by which Sir A. Cunningham tries to fix the Buddha Gayā coins to a date of about B.C. 450. His words are:— "The three coins weigh 111 grains, giving an average of only 37 grains. But, as the general average of upwards of 800 of these coins from all parts of India is upwards of 47 grains, I

am willing to accept a loss of 19 grains [scilicet, from 56, the assumed normal full weight] in about 600 years circulation, or, roughly, from B. C. 450 to A. D. 150, as very exceptional. These three coins show a loss of upwards of 3 grains per century, while the average loss of these punch-marked coins was not more than one grain and a half in a century. It must be remembered that they were all hardened with copper alloy."

The assumption that the normal wear and tear of such pieces was a grain and a half in a century, seems to me rather arbitrary. It would be difficult to quote an example of any class of coins remaining in circulation for 600 years; and small silver coins would be completely worn away long before the expiration of six centuries.

British rupees forty or fifty years old are often withdrawn because they have lost more than two per cent in half a century, or, say, from five to six per cent of weight in a century, and I can see no reason why the rate of loss in the case of punch-marked coins should be assumed to be less. Three grains out of fifty-six is approximately six per cent, and that might be taken as the minimum possible rate of loss for the small thin punch-marked coins, which would wear much quicker than English made rupees. Every one knows that four-anna pieces wear out very quickly, and could not be kept in circulation for a single century. It seems to me that B. C. 200 is a much more likely date than B. C. 450 for the Buddha Gayā coins, and even that may be too early. I can find no reason for the belief of Sir A. Cunningham (page 43) that some of the punch-marked coins may be as old as B. C. 1000. I agree, however, with him that there is nothing to indicate foreign influence on coins of this class, and that the evidence clearly points to their being an Indian invention.

The conjecture that some of the punched symbols may have been private marks of ancient money changers, is plausible.

The punch-marked copper coins (page 59), are much rarer than the silver ones, and at least one-half of those that Sir A. Cunningham has seen, "are simple forgeries of the silver coins, which betray themselves by their weight (that of the fifty grain [sic] kārsha), and sometimes by the silver still adhering to them." Similar forgeries or imitations exist in the Gupta series, and in many other ancient coinages.

On page 60, in the account of the cast coins, two slips of the pen have escaped correction.

The word "bulls" should be "balls," and the statement that "No. 28 . . . is of six different sizes, weighing respectively 107, 76, 26, and 11 grains," requires amendment.

The account of the coins of Taxila, illustrated by two entire plates, is valuable. A series of rare inscribed coins found only at that place (now Shâh kî dhêrî in the Râwâlpindi District) bears the legend *négama* (or, in one instance, *nigama*) in Indian characters of the Aśôka period. On some coins the word is written *nékama* in Gandharian (*i.e.* Arian, or Kharôshtrî) letters. Sir A. Cunningham wishes to interpret this word as the name of a coin, comparing it with the Greek *vóμαρα*, but this suggestion does not seem to be correct.

The word *négamâ* (*i.e.* *naigamâlî*), occurs in the Bhaṭṭiprôlu *Stûpa* inscription lately discovered by Mr. Rea in the Kistna (Krîshnâ) District, Madras, and is interpreted by Dr. Bühler (*Academy for 28th May 1892, page 522*) to mean "members of a guild." That inscription appears to belong to the age of Aśôka, or a time very little later, and the word *négama*, (*nigama*, or *nékama*) on the coins, which seem to date from the same period, should, in the absence of good reason to the contrary, be interpreted in the same way. The word *négama* (including the variant spellings) on the coins is associated with an unmistakable figure of a steelyard balance, and also with the words *dôjaka*, *râlimata*, and *unturôtaka*, of which the meaning seems to be at present unknown. Sir A. Cunningham's etymological speculations concerning these legends do not command assent.

The very rare coins bearing the legend Odumbara or Odumbarisa, which have been found only in the Kângâ District, have already been noticed in the *Archæological Reports* (Vol. V. p. 154, and XIV. p. 116.). Only two silver pieces are known, and the number of copper specimens is variously stated by the author in the same paragraph as five and seven. The silver pieces give the name of Râjâ Dhara Ghôsha in Pâli and Kharôshtrî characters. One of these coins is in the Lahore Museum, and was found in company with Kuninda coins and hemidrachms of Apollodotus, who reigned about B. C. 100.

The coins of Amôghabhûti, king of Kuninda, have been frequently published, but only five specimens of the Siva type are known. The name Kuninda was first correctly read by Sir A. Cunningham many years ago. The late Mr. Thomas committed himself at one time to very rash speculations about the interpretation of the legend of these coins.

The local coins of the ancient city Kôsâmbî, near Allâhâbâd, appear to comprise the issues of at least four princes, namely, Bahasata Mitra, Aśva Ghôsha, Jêtha Mitra, and Dhana Dêva. The connection of the first named ruler with Kôsâmbî is proved by the occurrence of an inscription of his in the neighbourhood. The coin legends do not include the name of the town, and I presume that the proof of the connection between Kôsâmbî and the other three rulers named rests chiefly on unpublished evidence as to the find spots of their coins. Coins of Dhana Dêva are recorded to have been found at Ayôdhîyâ (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. I. p. 319). His coins are stated to be very numerous.

Plate vi. is devoted to the illustration of coins ascribed to the Yaudhêya tribe, now represented by the Jôhiyas along the Satluj River and in the Salt Range. The coins numbered 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 13, of the Plate include the name Yaudhêya in their legends. I cannot perceive any reason for ascribing the single-die coin No. 1 with common Buddhist symbols to the Yaudhêyas, and the same remark applies to the broken coin No. 5, but the ascription of the remaining pieces (with the doubtful exception of No. 14), is satisfactorily established. The small copper coins, in two sizes, Nos. 2, 3 and 4, have on the obverse a humped bull to right, approaching a Bôdhi tree with railing, with the legend *Yaudhêyanâ* (*or-nî*), and on the reverse an elephant walking to right, with Buddhist symbols. This class of small copper coins is believed to date from about the first century B. C. I would name it the Bull and Elephant Type. Figures 6, 7, and 8 represent large copper coins, with a mean weight of 172 grains, which form a totally distinct class, copied from the Indo-Scythian money, and apparently later in date than A. D. 300. The obverse shows an armed figure standing to front, with spear in right hand, and left hand on hip; cock in field to right. Legend in old Nâgarî characters: *Yaudhêya gaṇasya jaya*. In one instance the word *dvi*, and, in another, the word *tri* follows *jaya*. The reverse is occupied by a standing male figure and sundry symbols.

This type may be called the Javelin Type, which name has been generally accepted for the corresponding class of Gupta coins. The legend shows that these coins are those of the Yaudhêya tribe or clan.

Figure 9 represents a silver coin, apparently the only one known in that metal, which belongs to a third completely distinct type. The author remarks that this piece and certain related copper coins (Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13) "are, perhaps, of a

slightly later date." They seem to me to be considerably later in date, and not earlier than A. D. 500.

They are characterized by the rude six-headed male figure on the obverse, which is probably intended for Kārttikēya, son of Siva, and god of war, and may be conveniently named the Kārttikēya Type. The legend on the silver piece is *Bhāgavatō Svāmina Brāhmaṇa Yaudhēya*, and that on some of the copper coins is *Bhāgavata Svāmina Brāhmaṇa Dēvaśya*.

The obverse device of Figure 14 is simply a snake, with the legend *Bhānu Varma*, and the ascription of this piece to the Yaudhēyas does not appear to be certain.

The Yaudhēya coins deserve further investigation and illustration.

If space permitted, Sir A. Cunningham's description of the Coins of Pañchāla (Northern Rāhīlkhaṇḍ), Mathurā, and Ayōdhyā should receive a long discussion; but it is impossible to treat the subject adequately in a review. The coins of the Mitra dynasty, characterized by the incuse square obverse, generally ascribed to the Śunga kings, are regarded by the author as the issues of a local dynasty, inasmuch "as they are very rarely found beyond the limits of the North Pañchāla, which would not be the case did they belong to the paramount dynasty of Śungas." The princes with the cognomen of Mitra who issued these coins, are Dhruva Mitra, Sūrya Mitra, Phalguni Mitra, Bhānu Mitra, Bhūmi Mitra, Agni Mitra, Jaya Mitra, Indra Mitra, and Vishṇu Mitra: — a very remarkable series of names. The names of Bhadra Ghōṣha and Viśva Pāla also occur.

The well-known Horse and Bull coins of Satya Mitra, Sūrya Mitra, and Vijaya Mitra, as well as the closely related coins of Saṅgha (Mitra) are classed by Sir A. Cunningham as Ayōdhyā issues. But I am by no means certain that the same Sūrya Mitra did not issue both the Incuse Square and the Horse and Bull coins. It is certainly a mistake to say that the Incuse Square coins are "very rarely found beyond the limits of the North Pañchāla." I have myself three coins of Indra Mitra found in Oudh, and Mr. J. Hooper, B.C.S., has many other coins of the same class, obtained chiefly in the neighbourhood of Ayōdhyā. Coins of this class are also found in Bastī and the other districts adjoining Oudh, where the Horse and Bull coins likewise occur. Certain princes, with the cognomen Mitra, namely Gō Mitra and Brahma Mitra issued coins which are classed by Sir A. Cunningham as Mathurā issues. These various Mitra coins require, and

would, I think, repay detailed study and investigation.

The Mathurā coins of the Satraps Hagā-māsha and Hagāna (page 87) are now, I believe, published for the first time.

The chapters dealing with the coins of Ujain and Ērāṇ are very interesting, but the greater part of their contents has already been published in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, and I must refrain from discussing them. The coin from Ērāṇ figured as No. 18 in Plate xi. is, however, too remarkable to be passed over. It "is a thick rude piece of copper, weighing 171 grains. It bears the name of Dhama Pālasini, written reversedly [seilicet, from right to left] in large Asōka characters of early date." This legend may be older than the inscriptions of Aśōka. Sir A. Cunningham includes in his work a brief account of the Andhra coins on the ground that the Andhra kings claim in their inscriptions to have extended their sway far to the north of the Narbadā River, and may thus be reckoned among the dynasties of Northern India, with which the book is concerned. Sir A. Cunningham adopts Dr. Bühler's results (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 272), as regards the succession and chronology of the Andhra monarchs.

The coins, which are generally made of lead, fall into two main classes, the Western, from the neighbourhood of Kōlhāpur, and the Southern, from the neighbourhood of Amarāvati on the Kṛishṇā (Kistna) River. The Western coins are mostly characterized by the obverse device of a bow, with arrow fixed. The Southern coins have for leading obverse device a horse, elephant, stūpa (*chaitya*), lion, or two-masted ship; and for reverse device the cross and balls, characteristic of the coinage of Ujain. Sir A. Cunningham observes that "one specimen has an elephant;" but I possess nine small leaden coins from the Kṛishṇā District, given me by Dr. Hultsch, all of which seem to bear the elephant obverse device. They are very rude coins.

Three of the kings also coined in copper, using the Bow and Arrow device, and one silver coin struck by Yajña Sātakarṇi, resembling the Satrap coinage of Surāshṭra, was found in the stūpa of Sōpāra.

The concluding section of the book is devoted to a brief discussion of the coinage of Nēpāl. Sir A. Cunningham accepts "with perfect confidence" the determination of the chronology by Dr. Bühler, whose results are very different from those at which Dr. Fleet arrived. Dr. Fleet thought that the Sūryavaṁśi Lichchhavi dynasty

ruled simultaneously with the Thâkuri dynasty, whereas Dr. Böhler, interpreting differently the dates of certain inscriptions, holds that the Licchhavi dynasty ended after A. D. 634, and was succeeded about A. D. 640 by the Thâkuri dynasty, founded by Thâkuri Amâsvârman.

The coins, which are all copper, ranging in weight from 95 to 250 grains, bear the names of Mânâka, Gunâka, Vaiśravaṇa, Amâsvârman, Jishnugupta, and Paśupati. Three of these coins had long ago been published by Prinsep and Sir A. Cunningham, and several of the types were published by Dr. Hoernle and myself for the first time in 1887 (*Proc. A. S. Bengal*), amended readings being given in the same periodical for the following year. The coins then described were from a find presented to me by Dr. Gimlette, and are now divided between the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. Hoernle, and myself. Colonel Warren's coins, some of which are figured and described by Sir A. Cunningham, have been recently acquired by the British Museum. The approximate date, A. D. 640, of Amâsvârman's coins is certain, but the dates and order of the other coins are far from being settled. In fact the Népâl coinage requires to be worked out in a separate monograph before it can be satisfactorily treated in brief. In describing the coins of Mânâka and Gunâka, Sir A. Cunningham transposes the terms obverse and reverse. There can be no doubt that the side occupied by the seated goddess is, as in the Gupta coinage, properly denominated the reverse.

No one can be more grateful than I am to Sir A. Cunningham for giving to numismatic students the first intelligible guide-book to the numerous groups of miscellaneous early Indian coins, or can appreciate better the knowledge and learning displayed in the small book under review. But it is a reviewer's business to criticize, and I may be pardoned for pointing out some defects. M. Ed. Drouin, when criticizing my work on the Gupta coinage, complained with justice that the autotype figures in the plates are often unsatisfactory. The same criticism applies with much greater force to the plates in this work, the coins figured being frequently much worn copper pieces, of which the photographs are necessarily very indistinct. In many instances the more expensive and troublesome process of engraving from drawings would have given far better results.

This review has run to such a length that it is impossible to discuss the introductory sections of the book, but a few dubious statements may be noted. Modern scholars do not generally accept the date "from 600 to 543 B. C." for the lifetime

of Buddha (page 3). On page 20 the statement is repeated in the form that "Buddha's death is placed in the middle of the sixth century B. C."

The observations on the derivation of the term *tanika* in pages 24-26 will hardly command general acceptance. The date 84 (page 37) for the Hashtnagar inscription appears to be incorrect. I think it may safely be asserted that the date is either 274 or 284, as read by Dr. Böhler, and originally by Sir A. Cunningham.

On page 49 the small gold coins of Southern India, known by the name of *hûn*, are said to average 52 grains, the weight being adjusted to that of the *kaṭaṇju* seed, which is "over 50 grains." On page 51 the *hûns* are said to have been "intended for half *dînârs* of the Roman standard"; and, on the same page, the *hûn* is declared to be "the original gold *karsha* of 57·6 grains, which has now dwindled down to 52 and 53 grains," and ten of the older *hûns* are said to give an average of 55 grains. These statements, which are not altogether consistent, appear to require revision. I do not see how the weight of the *hûn* can be derived from that of the *kaṭaṇju* seed of "over 50 grains," a purely indigenous measure, and also be copied from the Roman *dînâr* standard.

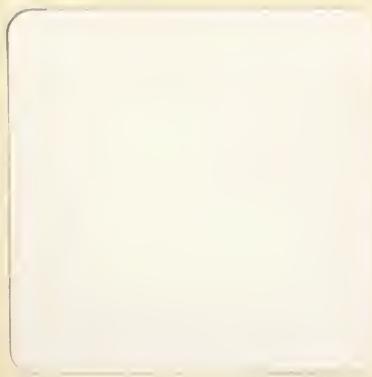
The citation of the legend of the purchase of the Jêtavâna garden to prove the antiquity of "square Indian coins" (page 53) suggests the criticism, first, that Sir A. Cunningham much antedates Buddha, secondly, that the representations in the sculptures prove nothing as to the facts in the time of Buddha, but only indicate what seemed to the sculptor a suitable way for representing a payment, and, thirdly, that early square gold coins are not known to exist. The legend illustrated by the sculpture refers to gold coins.

I am glad to see that Sir A. Cunningham has ceased to use the values 1·75 grain and 140 grains for the *rati* and *suvarṇa* respectively, and now uses the much more correct values 1·8 and 144. The values 1·825 and 146 which I have employed in my publications, are perhaps more strictly correct, but 1·8 and 144 are sufficiently accurate, and form a very convenient basis for a table of weights.

On page 53 the words "eight *ratis*, or 140 grains," should be read "eighty *ratis*, or 144 grains." On the same page it is stated that the Jêtavâna story "will be found in the appendix," but there is no appendix.

V. A. SMITH.

Cheltenham,  
22 June 1892.



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